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THE

LIFE

Of the HONOURABLE

Sir DUDLEY NORTH, Knt.

Commiſſioner of the *Cuſtoms*, and afterwards of the *Treaſury* to his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second.

And of the HONOURABLE and REVEREND

Dr. JOHN NORTH,

Maſter of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, and *Greek* Profeſſor, Prebend of *Weſtminſter*, and ſometime Clerk of the Cloſet to the ſame King *Charles* the Second.

By the HONOURABLE

ROGER NORTH, Eſq;

Ea complectitur quibus ipſe interfuit. Cic. de Leg. Lib. 1.

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MDCCXLIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

Dudley North, Esq;

SIR,

So near a Relation as there is between yourself and that Honourable Person, whose Life and Actions are recorded in the following Sheets; I flatter myself will be thought sufficient Reason for my begging Leave to Address you in this Manner. The whole Community indeed has, some Way or other, a General Concern in the clearing up of the History of any Considerable Person who had ever been a Member of it. But I am apt to think there is not any Body but who must receive a more than ordinary Satisfaction, from seeing the Character of a truly great Man, and his own almost immediate Ancestor, vindicated from Obloquy, and set forth in such a Light as it justly deserved. For we see the Regard usually had for the Memories of great and good Men occasions often a particular Respect to be paid to

those

thoſe that ſucceed them; and, on the contrary, it is known by Experience that ſome of the Infamy will, for a Generation or two at leaſt, unavoidably ſtick upon the Deſcendants of a Knave.

But, Sir, beſides this, I perſuade myſelf that a Man of your Sentiments of Things will the more readily patronize this Work, as what will give you the Satisfaction of finding that the Eſtate left you by your Anceſtor was not founded upon the Ruin of other People, nor followed with the Curſes of your own Country. But as the getting of it was attended with Honour and Credit to himſelf, ſo he made it, when got, an Inſtrument whereby he was capacitated to ſerve his Country in Poſts of greater Conſequence than otherwiſe he had been able to do: And as at firſt the Effects of his good Will could be felt but by few, ſo, with the Encreaſe of his Fortunes, his Generoſity extended to greater Numbers, till at laſt he had it in his Power to make the whole Community ſenſible of the happy Effects of thoſe extraordinary Talents it had pleaſed God to endue him with.

It may indeed be objected here that all this is very fine if it were true; and I doubt not

but

but you yourſelf will reflect how inſignificant all this muſt be that I have here ſaid, if no Facts are produced in Support of it. But of thoſe you will find no Want in theſe Papers.

But we ſhall be never the nearer for all this, if thoſe Facts are not to be relied upon. And to this, I have the Satisfaction of being able to reply, that there is one Particularity attending this Work, which deſerves to be noted: And it is, that whereas the two former Works of this honourable Author were wrote, the one, on Purpoſe to vindicate the beſt of Brothers and the beſt of Friends; and the other, to wipe off ſome Obloquy from that King under whoſe Protection and Encouragement they both got what they had; and when the Writer was exaſperated not a little with the prodigious Iniquity of a powerful Faction in thoſe Times, of which he was an Eye and Ear Witneſs; yet Nobody has hitherto preſumed in the leaſt to queſtion ſo much as one ſingle Fact he has poſitively aſſerted in either of thoſe Works; although they contain not a few, and thoſe unknown before, and of the utmoſt Importance to a right Underſtanding of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times.

This,

This, Sir, I am perſuaded will be ſufficient to give you a full Aſſurance, that what is here related muſt be undoubtedly true, though penned by the honourable Author in expreſs Vindication of an own Brother and no leſs Boſom Friend; and thereby diſpoſe you readily to countenance whatever he has left behind him towards that good Work: Not to mention thoſe two great Names that have gone before you in this Thing.

As for myſelf, it will be Happineſs enough for me to think that Providence has made me an Inſtrument of publiſhing to the World, a full Vindication of ſo illuſtrious an Anceſtor of that worthy Perſon who has laid ſo many Obligations upon,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

and obliged humble Servant,

MOUNTAGU NORTH.

THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE Sir *DUDLEY NORTH.*

THE Honourable Sir *Dudley North*, Knight, was the third ſurviving Son of the ſecond *Dudley* Lord *North*, Baron of *Kirtling*. The whole Family Relation was declared in a Preface to the Account of his beſt Brother the Lord Keeper; wherefore it is here omitted. He was born 16th of *May* 1641; and the Chriſtian Name of *Dudley*, as I have heard, came into this Family by the means of *Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was a God-father at the chriſtening of the firſt *Dudley* Lord *North*, his Grand-father. Why, or how, it happened that this Name fell to the ſhare of a younger Brother, and not of the eldeſt Son, whoſe Name was *Charles*, may be imagined eaſier than diſcovered. It is likely that, in the Reign of King *Charles* I. when the eldeſt was born, *Charles* was thought more honourable. But Accident, or, commonly, the Parents or God-fathers Fancy determines Names; and it may be thought fit that the latter ſhould have ſomething for their Money. His Parentage and Name.

He was a very forward, lively, and beautiful Child, and thereby entituled to be, as he really was, his Mother's Favourite: For good Women are moſt pleaſed, when their Children, being Females, are like themſelves, or as they fancy they were when young; and the Males, as the Father was in his tender Age, according to the Ideas Forward, lively, and beautiful, when a Child.

they form to themſelves. The unfortunate Attendance upon the Parliament engaged this Gentleman's Father to reſide in *London*, 'till the more fortunate Excluſion ſent him and his Family to their better Reſidence in the Country. The *London* Houſe was in *King's-ſtreet, Weſtminſter*, and, though a ſorry one, remarkable for being the firſt and only Brick Houſe in that Street for many Years. The chief airing this Child had was with his Attendant at the Door, where, by his forward Familiarities, he had made himſelf known to moſt People that had to do thereabouts; and nothing ſo common as his being at his Poſt, with an Audience in the Street to ſhare his Converſation.

Stole by a Beggar, but recovered.

But [illegible] Over-forwardneſs had like to have coſt him dear; for once in a B[illegible] at the Door about taking coach, when a Child is apt to preſs too forward, a Beggar-woman, paſſing by, ſwept him away; and, after the Coach was gone, the Child was wanted. The Servants ran out ſeveral Ways to look for him, and one, by chance, found him in an Alley leading towards *Channel-row*, in the Hands of the Beggar, who was taking off his Cloaths; ſo the Child was recovered, but the Woman ran away and eſcaped Puniſhment.

Fell ſick of the Plague, and recovered.

It fell out in the great Plague, that his Father's Houſe was ſhut up; for he and a little Siſter, named *Mary*, had the Plague together. His Father removed, becauſe of his promiſcuous Converſe; but his excellent Mother ſtaid, and with her own Hands nurſed her two tender Children. I have heard her ſay, that once, feeling a Swelling upon the little Boy's Head, the Plague-ſore (as it proved to be) broke in her Hand. This incomparable Piety and Courage in her was providentially rewarded, firſt by the Recovery of both her Children, and next by her own and her Family's wonderful Eſcape; for neither ſhe, nor any one elſe in her Houſe, had the Plague. I well know by ocular Inſpection, that the groſs Scar of this Sore was very manifeſt to be ſeen upon this Gentleman's Head all the Days of his Life.

Put to *Bury* School, and ill uſed by the Maſter.

But now to bring the young Man to a Grammar School: He was placed at *Bury*, under Dr. *Stephens*; but made an indifferent Scholar. He had too much Spirit, which would not be ſuppreſſed by conning his Book, but muſt be rather employed in perpetual Action. With all that, his Parts were ſo quick, that a little Application went a great way with him; and, in the End, he came out a moderate School-ſcholar. But no Thanks to his Maſter; for had he been treated with Diſcretion, the Goodneſs of his Nature was ſuch, that he might have been brought down to ſuch an Aſſiduity as would have made him an incomparable Scholar. But, though from what Stars it proceeded I know not, it is certain that the Maſter took a great Averſion to him, and moſt brutally abuſed him; correcting him at all Turns, with or without

without a Fault, till he was driven within an Ace of Deſpair, and (as I have often heard him declare) making away with himſelf. Among other Inſtances of his Barbarity, one was that the Youth had been more than once whipt for faulty Verſes, that he had ſtole out of printed Books. This ill Uſage made an Impreſſion upon his Spirits, that did not wear out in all his Life, but, to his dying day, he reſented it. And he often ſpake of it in a kind of Paſſion, and declared that he wanted only the Satisfaction of talking to this Man, and ſhewing where he uſed him ill, and had denied him common Juſtice. Such a Pleaſure have Folks, deſperately offended, in venting their Reſentments.

By early Diſpoſition a Merchant.

This Gentleman was deſigned by his Parents to be a Merchant; but how early I know not, and rather think they had no poſitive Determination, but according as natural Tendency, and reaſonable Opportunity invited. And this Backwardneſs at School, and a ſorry Account that the Maſter gave of his Scholarſhip, might turn the Scales towards an Employment that needed leſs Learning. But the young Man himſelf had a ſtrange Bent to Traffick, and, while he was at School, drove a ſubtle Trade among the Boys, by buying and ſelling. In ſhort, it was conſidered that he had Learning enough for a Merchant, but not Phlegm enough for any ſedentary Profeſſion. Which Judgment of him was made good by the Event.

In Danger of Ruin at a Writing-School.

According to this Scheme, the next Step was the being placed in *London* at a Writing-School, to learn good Hands and Accounts. Where, being once ſettled in that Way, he ran a great Riſk of being utterly ruined for ever. And if, together with his reſtleſs Spirit, he had not had conjoined a manly Reflection reſerved within himſelf, and alſo a Reſolution of ſometimes checking his own Extravagances (which, not only in his Youth, but alſo in many important Emergences in his Life, he executed by making ſhort and ſudden Turns) he had been loſt. The Writing-School was a Place of entire Liberty: He might come and go as he would: He might learn if he pleaſed; and as freely let it alone. But he minded his Buſineſs, at Times, well enough, and acquired amply what he came there for, which was fair Writing and Accounts. He had his Times alſo for making large Excurſions, and got into Acquaintance as airy as himſelf, though not ſo well born or dreſt: But he made ſmall Ceremony of that, provided they led him to Sport. There was no buſtling, buſy Diverſion that he was not, more or leſs, engaged in; yet, in all his Frolicks and Rambles about the Town, he and his Company ſteered clear of the Vices of Whoring and Drinking, and followed ſuch Entertainments only as were very active, but otherwiſe (beyond the Archneſs and Waggeries of Youth) not wicked nor indi-

cative of a Nature depraved. And it were well if the Flights of Youth, in this Age, had no worſe Character.

Lover of Cock-fighting.

One of his capital Entertainments was Cock-fighting. If poſſible, he procured a Place in the Pit; and there was a rare Splutter and Noiſe, cut out, as it were, for Folks half mad. I have heard him ſay, that, when he had in the World but three Shillings, he hath given half a Crown for an Entrance, reſerving but Sixpence to bet with. I preſume it was with him as with others that love Gaming: Avarice was the grand Inducement, and that inſpired the Adventure; and the female, or rather Lottery, childiſh Argument prevailed, *viz.* others have won, and why not I?

A deſperate Swimmer.

Another of his darling Sports was ſwimming in the *Thames*. He uſed that ſo much, that he became quite a Maſter of it. He could live in the Water an Afternoon with as much Eaſe as others walk upon Land. He ſhot the Bridge diverſe Times at low Water, which ſhewed him not only active, but intrepid; for Courage is required to bear the very Sight of that tremendous Caſcade, which few can endure to paſs in a Boat. He told me, that his Method was to glide along while the Current was ſmooth, which was like the Motion of an Arrow, and extremely delicious; and when he was through, and plunged in the Diſorders of the Waters there, he uſed his ſwimming Powers, that is, ſtriking with Legs and Arms, applying all the Force he had to prevent turning round, which, in thoſe Eddies, was hard to be done; and all this under Water, till he got into ſome Calm, where he might govern himſelf again. His greateſt Danger was Flooks of Anchors, broken Piles, great Stones, and ſuch Enemies as lay concealed under Water, and, in the Speed he went, could not be touched without Deſtruction.

His bold Adventures in that Exerciſe.

He and his Comrades uſually hired a known Porter to keep their Cloaths; and, when they were all naked, as I have often heard him ſay, he was not at all aſhamed of his Company; but, when their Cloaths were on, he cared not to be ſeen with them. He hath told me that, having lodged his Cloaths not far from the Bridge at early Ebb, he hath run naked upon the Ooze up almoſt as high as *Chelſea*, for the Pleaſure of ſwimming down to his Cloaths before Tide of Flood. By theſe bold Diverſions, one may gueſs what the *Roman* Youth were able to do, who made it their ordinary Exerciſe to bear the Extremes of Heat and Cold, and all Sorts of Fatigues; affecting to deſpiſe and ſlight all Hazards and Pain, till Sufferings became habitual. But, to wave Reflections, though my Subject profers fair, and to diſmiſs this ſwimming Entertainment, I muſt here, though a little too early, remember that, when he reſided at *Conſtantinople*, it had very nearly coſt him his Life; for, being grown corpulent

pulent and fat, he was not qualified for ſuch Frolicks, but yet would needs go and ſwim in the *Helleſpont*; and there the Water came down from the *Black Sea* ſo rigidly cold, that it almoſt congealed the Fat of his Belly. He found himſelf not well, and came into his Boat, where he perceived his Belly look like Tallow, and could ſcarce feel any Touch upon it. The Rowers preſently underſtood the Caſe, and forthwith laid him down, and fell all to rubbing and chafing his Belly, till they found it come red and warm; and ſo they left him out of Danger: But he was not free from Pains in that Part for diverſe Months; and, after this, he never went into the Water more.

In Want, and bad Expedients to get Money.

But, to return: It may be eaſily imagined that, living thus at the Writing-School, his Extravagance muſt keep him in conſtant Want of Money. He had little or no Allowance for his Pocket, and could value himſelf only upon what his wealthy Relations at times gave him: Therefore, all the Wits he had were at work to ſupply the Expence of his Rambles. And this pinching Neceſſity drew him into Practices very unjuſtifiable, and (except among unexperienced Boys) altogether inexcuſable. When a freſh Youth came to the School, he and his Companions looked out ſharp, to diſcover how well his Pockets were lined; and ſome of them would inſinuate into his Acquaintance, and, becoming dear Friends, one after another, borrow what he had; and all, got that Way, was Gain to the common Stock: For, if he was importunate about having his Money again, they combined, and led him a weariſome Life, and, rather than fail, baſted him, till he was reduced to a better Temper; and ſo they ſecured their own Peace, and to the Lad ſo much Wit bought and paid for. And other like Ways they had of providing for the current Expences of their Community.

Deſperately in Debt, and how relieved.

But all thoſe Contrivances, joined to his lawful Stock, would not ſtop all Gaps, ſo that he was forced to borrow, or obtain to be truſted, till he had got in Debt about three Pounds, which, upon his own Strength, he could not eaſily raiſe. But he had ſome dormant Sparks of Honour that galled him cruelly, upon account of his being ſo deſperately in Debt; for his Creditors were ſuch as would be paid, or go to his Friends; and that he dreaded mortally. He had Relations that, upon Application, would have extricated him, by advancing ſuch a Sum, and particularly his beſt Brother reſiding at the *Temple*: But then he muſt give ſome reaſonable Account how he had ſpent ſo much Money; and either he muſt lye, which he could not do ſolemnly to them, or he muſt loſe his Credit as to his Diſcretion, the Thought of which he could not bear. He determined to avoid all theſe Shelves, and, by his Wits, as well as he could,

could, get up the Money, and ſet himſelf clear. His chief Expedient was making counterfeit Bills of Expences; and he took care they ſhould be ſuch as were partly expected, only enlarging a little, and inſerting ſome choice Items; and thoſe he ſent to his Parents, who did not much examine into the Reality or Fictitiouſneſs of the Particulars, but thought all was well, and ſent him up the Money. In fine, he paid his Debt to a Farthing, and, from that Time, reſolved never to be in Debt beyond his Power at any time to diſcharge, whatever became of him.

Reflection upon early Experience.

This was one, and the firſt of his ſhort Turns; and from hence I date the Criſis of his Well-doing: For, if he had not had a ſingular good Senſe, and Sparks of Honour at the Bottom, however kept under by a prevailing Ardour of his Youth and Spirits, he might here have ſwayed the wrong as well as the right Way, and have left the Evil to encreaſe upon him; the End of which had been Ruin. There is a good Moral that lies behind theſe petty Circumſtances of a Youth's Condition, for which Reaſon they are brought forward to be viewed; and that is, that it is expedient, Youth ſhould have an early Liberty to manage for itſelf; for, with ſmall Loſſes, they gain great and important Experiences, which, at full Age, are ſeldom acquired without the Loſs of all at once. This is commonly obſerved of ſuch Gentlemen as are kept under till Eſtates fall to them; for they commonly err in choice of Friends and Methods; which Miſtakes often prove the Ruin of their whole Fortunes. Whereas timely Experience of Mens ordinary Self-Intereſtedneſs and Treachery, and of their own Folly and Overſights, to be had in ſmall Dealing as well as in great, would have been Precaution ſufficient to have prevented ſuch fatal Overſights.

Bound to a *Turky* Merchant.

The next Step, our Youth made towards an Advancement of his Fortunes, was into a ſerious and ſteddy Courſe of Employment, by being bound to a *Turky* Merchant, upon the ordinary Terms to be ſent abroad. His Maſter was one *Davis*, a ſingle Man. He had 350 *l.* with him, and no more. They boarded with one Mr. *Andrews* a Packer in *Threadneedle-ſtreet*, a very ſubſtantial and juſt Man. This Merchant's Buſineſs was not enough to keep a Man employed; and, having left off rambling, much of his Time lay upon his Hands. He could not endure to be out of Action, or idle; therefore, to fill up his Intervals, he fell to work at the Packing-Preſs, and other Buſineſs of that Trade; by which he made himſelf a complete Maſter of the Miſtery of that Trade. This was not any Loſs of Time; for that is one of the chief Trades which the *Levant* Merchants are concerned with, for the ſkilful packing their Cloths ſent into *Turky*. The young Gentleman took alſo a Fancy to the binding

binding of Books; and, having procured a Stitching-Board, Preſs, and Cutter, fell to work, and bound up Books of Account for himſelf, and diverſe for his Friends, in a very decent Manner. He had a diſtinguiſhing Genius towards all Sorts of mechanick Exerciſes; as I ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve afterwards.

Sent Supra-cargo to *Archangel* and *Smyrna*.

I do not remember any thing farther remarkable of this young Gentleman during his ſerving as a Merchant's Man in *London*, until his Maſter thought fit to ſend him out; and that he did upon a Voyage, than which there could not have been contrived one more deſperate and diſcouraging: It was firſt as Supra-cargo, with an Adventure to *Archangel*, and there to negotiate the Cargo, and to ſhip another; and then to ſail with that, by the Back of *Shetland* and *Ireland*, round about through the *Streights*, and ſo to *Italy* and *Smyrna*, where he was to reſide as Factor in the *Turky* Trade. It was an hard Caſe for a raw Youth to embark in ſuch a Voyage, without Company, or ſo much as a Face in the Ship that he ever ſaw before, and bound almoſt as far Northward as *Zembla*, and to reſide amongſt, and traffick with, barbarous People, and then to return through all the bad Weather the Skies can afford. But he went, not only willingly but, ambitiouſly, and formaliſed upon nothing that led towards the End he moſt earneſtly deſired, which was to be ſettled as a Factor in *Turky*. His Reſolution was inexpugnable; and, not only in this but, in many other Inſtances of his Life, he conſidered well what was beſt for him to do; and after that Point once determined, he had no Thought of Difficulties; he was not Maſter of his Fortunes, and reſolved, at all Adventures, to advance them; and therein to uſe the utmoſt of his Induſtry and Underſtanding, leaving the reſt to Providence.

Paſſages in the Voyages taken from his own Pen.

As for the Particulars of his Sufferings in the Voyage Outwards, with the Delights of *Archangel* (which muſt needs be exquiſite ſo near the North Pole) what was the Way of tranſacting with that polite People, the incomprehenſible Fatigues of the Voyage back, and the various Incidents before he came to *Smyrna*; I think they will all appear moſt ſenſibly in the Accounts he himſelf gave in Letters wrote to his beſt Brother. He took a Pleaſure in writing, eſpecially to him; and, out of that Correſpondence, the following Extracts are taken, which may be affirmed to be, in all Points, ſtrictly true.

Voyage

Voyage from London *to* Archangel, *extracted from the Letters of Mr.* Dudley North.

Departure, and hideous Sea-Sickneſs.

'WE are now, and (by reaſon of a croſs Wind, which would not 'ſuffer us to keep our Courſe direct) have been longer than we 'liked, in Sight of many high, barbarous, and rocky Iſles, upon the 'Coaſt of *Norway*; where alſo we have ſight of thoſe huge living 'Mountains, Whales, entertaining themſelves with ſpouting up Water 'in great abundance, and to an incredible height. It is not long 'ſince we met the Offals of one which had the evil Fortune to fall 'into the Hands of the *Hollanders*, who, taking all that is uſeful, 'turned the Guts and Garbage adrift; and it looked like a Field of 'fallow Ground: Thus the Monſter lay a Prey to his Fellow-Crea-'tures, a Legion of which, doubtleſs, he intended at his next Meal 'to have devoured, had not *Hanſmundungus* caught him by the Back. 'We ſaw Store of ſmall Fiſh, ſuch as Sharks, Bottlenoſes, and Sun-'fiſhes, playing above the Water. They are about the Size of a Man, 'or ſomewhat leſs. When we were upon the Coaſt of *Shetland*, 'which lies to the Northward of *Scotland* and the Iſles of *Orkney*, 'with our Hooks and Lines we found ourſelves freſh Victuals, taking 'Mackerel to our Hearts Content, being very well grown, and far 'better than ſuch as you have at *London*; but, at that time, I had 'neither Stomach to eat them taken, nor to be at the taking them; 'for, after I was a Week upon the Water, the continual Motion ſo 'diſordered my Body, that half a Biſcuit ſerved me for more than a 'whole Day's Proviſion. Our Store-Fiſh was ſalt and ſtrong, Beef of 'ſuch Temper and Saltneſs, it was not Meat for me. We had in 'the Ship Beans and Peaſe, and freſh Mutton every other Night; but 'all was Chip to me; my greateſt Comfort was the Beer, whilſt it 'laſted good, which I took well warmed; but, at laſt, that proved 'worſe than all the reſt, for it ſtank moſt abominably. I loathed 'ſtrong Waters more than any thing, and could not come at the 'Sweetmeats provided for me by my Friends. All my Relief was a 'little burnt Claret, which now and then I took well warmed, but 'had not Skill enough to keep it. For ought I ſee, what pleaſeth or 'is loathſome, is all alike, for neither will ſtay above a Quarter of 'an Hour at moſt. In this taking I was more than a Fortnight '(now a little, and but a little better) I could not ſtand, much leſs 'walk; my eaſieſt Poſture was lying a-bed, which, I affirm, was more 'tedious to me than any Jail could have been; my Head ſo dizzy, 'that I was incapable of reading, or doing ought elſe that might wear

'away

'away ſome of my tedious Time. At firſt I had ſome Diverſion ſit-
'ting upon the Deck, and ſeeing the Mariners follow their Work,
'but that Sport laſted not long; for, when the N. E. Wind began to
'blow, I found cold Comfort there, and was forc'd to retire to my
'Cabbin.

'Now we are in Sight of the North Cape, which, as moſt of the
'Iſlands hereabouts, is tipt with Snow, and the Wind comes extraor-
'dinary cold from them. I am of their Opinion that ſay, a Mile's
'Travel at Land is ſpent with more Pleaſure than ten at Sea; for
'there we have Expectation of ſomewhat novel every Night, beſides
'the Entertainment of the Day, but here we are at a Loſs to enter-
'tain ourſelves at all; as hath been my Caſe hitherto, fit for nothing
'but lolling a-bed, and that with no Eaſe or Delight; but he muſt
'needs lie that is not able to go or ſtand. Do but imagine what a
'Condition it is, and how miſerable, neither to eat, drink, ſleep, nor
'do any Thing elſe but with an abſolute *Nauſea* and Reluctance;
'not to have ſo much Entertainment, as the Viciſſitudes of Night and
'Day might afford; not one Perſon to ſpeak to, that I ever ſaw be-
'fore. This is now my Condition; I begin to practiſe what I deſpiſed in
'others, who count their Time by Meals and Evacuations; for even ſo
'are all my Eſtimates. I think I ought to be well, however other-
'wiſe I find myſelf, and charge the Grumbling of my Guts, and
'Qualms that come over my Stomach, and Dizzineſs of my Head,
'upon being out of my Element; then lay me down, with as much
'Patience and little Eaſe, as if I were tied Neck and Heels, without
'Ability to riſe; ſo I continue till I think it meet to eat or drink,
'which (as moſt conducing to Eaſe) I do very ſparingly; for the tenth
'Part of a Meal, at Land, is Exceſs here.

Of the North Cape, and Sickneſs continuing.

'I think the Seaman's Life fit for none but ſuch dull Souls as think
'themſelves happy in keeping a Place warm, as wide, tho' ſeldom ſo
'long, as a Coffin; and this for one four Hours, which they call a
'Watch; and when that Taſk is over, are as happy in the enjoying a
'Walk a little larger than the aforeſaid Lodging; where their Turnings
'are ſo quick, that it would puzzle one to imagine what they are do-
'ing. No Time is ſo pleaſant to me as when the Wind blows freſh,
'and I ſee 24 or 25 Men ſtand curſing themſelves, and damning others,
'juſt as if the Devil himſelf and his Comrades were come to ſhew
'Tricks. Then I get me to a Corner, where I am ſure to be out of
'the Way, and ſit me down pleaſed with obſerving, till a new and
'contrary Motion of the Veſſel raiſeth a Tempeſt in my Guts, and
'then, to lighten the Veſſel, I heave overboard all I ate laſt, and have
'enough to do to keep back Entrails, Heart and all; and then I lay me
'down again.

Put to hard Shifts.

Desired to learn Sailing, but in vain.

'I envy the Condition of those that have Store of Employment, 'and are so far from devising Ways to pass Time, that the Days are 'not sufficient for the Business: But as soon as I get me ashoar, I 'hope to have my Wish in that; for I do not fear Want of Employ-'ment, and have taken up a Resolution not to be idle as long as I can 'find any thing in the World to do. I had thought to employ myself 'aboard by keeping an Account of the Ship's Way, but am disappoint-'ed; for the Master and Mates, on whom that Charge lies, are a sort 'of People, who do all by mechanick Rule, and understand nothing, 'or very little, of the Nature and Reason of the Instruments they 'use. And where that little happens, they are very shy of it; and, 'if at any time one speaks to them, they think they have a Blockhead 'to deal with, who understands nothing; and they will bear no Ob-'jection to their Dictates. As for Reasons and Causes, they lie beyond 'their Capacity; all that's not set down at large in their Books, they 'account no better than damnable Doctrine, and Heresy: Their Quo-'tations are irrefragable, and not to be disputed.

Russes came on Board and trucked.

'The Weather is now become fine, warm and sunshine, and the Sea, 'by Use, more tolerable, and we are in Hopes not to continue 24 'Hours upon it; for we have Land on both Sides, and our Port about '30 Leagues a-head. Yesterday we met with a *Russ* Boat, and brought 'her by the Lee; some of the Crew came on Board us, and the 'Sea-men trucked some Tobacco with them for their Capeaks, or 'furred Caps, and, having enquired News of their Affairs, dismissed them.

Of Diving Foul.

'It is commonly said, and I believe true, that Willicks, Sea-Pigeons, 'and Divers, as also other Birds, that get their living upon the Sea, 'will subsist two Hours, or more, under Water; and they make Use 'of their Wings there to take their Prey. They affirm they will sink, 'with Wings displayed, 20 Fathom, and that they have seen it; and 'truly one may see a Tobacco-pipe, or any white Thing, sink a great 'while in the Sea; but how many Fathom I cannot tell.

The State of the *White Sea*, and the Islands.

'On Saturday Night we came to an Anchor before the Bar of *Arch-'angel*, being the headmost of our Fleet. This is the Sea which is 'called the *White Sea*, but most unfitly for its Colour; for I can com-'pare it to nothing better than dead Beer, being as thick as that can 'well be. The Conditions of this Sea are worse than its Looks; for 'the Tides are uncertain and unaccountable. While we were a little 'before the Bar, among the small Islands, and the Wind faint, we were 'mightily put to it, as to Trouble, but without Danger; it happened 'that the Tide ran all Points of the Compass in less than 4 Hours; so 'we lay, and, for want of Wind, could not help ourselves, but were 'carried and turned about, whether we would or no; which made us 'drop our Anchor, and expect another Tide. In the mean Time we 'went

'went aſhoar on one of thoſe ſmall Iſlands, which we found overgrown 'with Wood and Moſs; the Wood was Pines and Fir, which, though 'let alone, comes not to any Magnitude, but, after it is full grown, 'dies, and then, loſing the Bark, ſtands naked for ſome Time, and 'ſhoots out long black Hair to the Length of a Span. The Place was 'not inhabited; but yet, on the lower Ground, was excellent good 'Graſs, which the adjacent Inhabitants in Summer cut down, and 'make into Locks (which they ſtake ſo as not to be moved by Wind, 'or Floods) and, when the Seas are frozen over, they fetch it away 'upon Sleds. We ſaw here no manner of Beaſts, and only the foot-'ing of Bears; but we ſhot ſome Ducks and Geeſe, and leaving the 'Place, made to our Ship.

'The Wind was then freſhened; ſo we hoiſted Sail, and paſſed the 'Bar very well, and made forwards about four Leagues. Then the 'Soldiers Boat came aboard us, to take the Names of the Ship and Ma-'ſter. Theſe Fellows being ſtrangely, I may ſay fantaſtically, clad 'and armed, the Eyes and Attention of the Sailors (obſerving them) 'were diverted from their Buſineſs; ſo that, when the Pilot cried Star-'board, the Helm lay ſtill a-port, and, in leſs then a quarter of an 'Hour, we were a-ground. Now began the Game; for you might 'hear one ſwear, and another ſtamp, and all in an hurry; forty ſeveral 'Ways put in Practice at once, to get off the Ship, which, after an 'Hour or two, began to move again; but we continued ſo doing only 'into deep Water, and then we caſt Anchor again, and, at next hoiſting, 'came to the deſired Place of our Stay.

Soldiers came aboard; the Ship run a-ground, but got off.

Reſidence at Archangel.

'WE went aſhoar, to live in Houſes built with Trees laid along one 'upon another, and let in at the Ends; the Streets are paved 'with Trees, and the Houſes covered with Birch Bark. The Ground, 'where the *Engliſh* are appointed to dwell, is paled round with great 'Trees ſet upright; the like is for the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers*. The 'Emperor of *Ruſſia* ſends down every Year a Governor, and a *Gort*, 'or Judge, to keep the Peace, and decide all Differences. Their Law 'is in their Heads, and what comes out of their Mouths is without 'Controul, or Appeal. So that whatever Difference ariſeth between one 'Man and another, it is ſure to be fully decided in leſs than an Hour. 'After the Parties have once ſpoke, he gives the deciſive Stroke, and 'there's an End.

The Houſing and Law at *Archangel*.

'Now this is a fine Place to live in, Victuals of all Sorts plenty, 'and brave ſunſhine Weather; as we ſailed along the Coaſt of *Norway*,

The ſtrange Serenity of the Place.

'I fancied the Clouds, tho' loſt in the Horizon, were but a ſmall Di-
'ſtance from us, which this Place confirms; elſe one Place could not
'be ſo very ſerene, and another ſo cloudy, and that almoſt conſtantly.
'For at the North Cape, it is rare to ſee the Sun; and here, at *Arch-*
'*angel*, about 200 Leagues diſtant, not a Cloud to be ſeen, for divers
'Months together; when we were 2 Leagues diſtant from the huge
'Mountains on the Coaſt of *Norway*, we could plainly diſcern the
'Clouds to paſs between the Mountains and us.

Of the Natives, their hot Houſes, and Women.

'One of the Inconveniences, that lie on thoſe who dwell in this
'Country, is that the People are ſo given to Naſtineſs, that nothing
'can be eaten out of their Hands; you ſhall have perhaps four Bro-
'thers, and as many Siſters, with their Father, Mother, Huſbands,
'and Wives, all dwell in one hot Houſe (*Wiſbie*, they call it). They
'have nothing but a little Straw ſtrewed on the Ground to lie upon.
'They wear looſe Garments above, with linen Drawers, which go down
'to their Heels, and a ſhort Shirt underneath, like a Coat. To this, in
'the Winter, they add a *Caſſtan*, as they call it, which is an Under-coat,
'the upper they call a *Shube*. And, for their Boots and huge thick
'Stockings, and double Mittens for their Hands, they never alter, but
'continually wear them. The Women, I think, are the moſt deformed
'Creatures that ever were ſeen; generally ſhort, and, by Reaſon of
'their lying in *Wiſbies* and *Baſtoes*, very ſwarthy. Their Wear is, for
'the labouring Women, Boots; but, for them that keep Houſe, nei-
'ther Shoes nor Stockings; they wear a linen looſe Garment next their
'Skin, for the moſt part, without any thing elſe; but ſometimes they
'have another of blue Callicao over the other; but that is all.

Their Superſtitions.

'The Men count it a Sin to have either long Hair or a ſhort Beard.
'They are extremely ſuperſtitious: Every Man has his Object of Wor-
'ſhip; but ſome twenty or more. They are Commodities ſold in the
'Market; and they will not ſell any to a Stranger, or ſuffer him ſo much
'as to touch them. Theſe are Pictures of the Saints, and that of our Sa-
'viour. The great Men burn Lamps before them Day and Night, and
'adorn them richly with Gold and Pearl; but when theſe are worn
'out, and they cannot ſee any thing of them, they hold it not fit or
'lawful to burn them, but, in a ſolemn manner, carry them to the Sea,
'and there ſet them a drift to ſhift for themſelves.

Character of the People.

'Theſe People are generally Thieves from the firſt to the laſt, and
'ſteal not only from Strangers, but Neighbours; and Poſſeſſion is all
'the Law they have among themſelves. Drinking is their only Paſtime;
'and he that is not drunk on an holy Day, or Sabbath Day, is neither
'a Friend to their God nor Emperor. They are all left to get their
'Livings the beſt Way they can. He, that is a Carpenter to day, is

'a La-

'a Labourer to morrow. Every Man breeds up his own Sons, and it 'is a Shame to be wiſer than their Forefathers.

'This Town of *Archangel* ſtands on a Bog, and if you offer to walk out of Town (except one Way, which is by the Water Side, leading to a ſmall Grove of Trees, that are of a competent Height, and moſtly Pine, Fir, and Birch) if the Way be not paved with Planks, as ordinarily is done to make a Paſſage from the Town to ſome Wind-mill, you are preſently over Shoes and Boots. Among the reſt of the Iſlands, ſome are very good Ground, and bear Corn of all Sorts, which, after it is turned Colour, as it will in five Weeks after it is put in the Ground, they cut down, and lay in the Sun to ripen or harden; and thus they often have two Crops in a Year. Of the City and Country.

'You ſhall not ſee, in all this Country, one hundred Acres of good Ground without a Monaſtery, or two, or three, in Sight of it; who will, may ſhave himſelf a Fryar; but it is ſeldom done, unleſs in Sickneſs; for they think, whoever dies without the laſt Unction, cannot be ſaved; and he, that recovers and lives after he hath received that Sacrament, is a Frier all the reſt of his Life. Religion and Monaſteries.

'In this Country, the Huſband is the ſole Commander of the Wife, who differs very little from his Servant. Many will marry their Sons very young to luſty Baggages, on purpoſe to gain able Servants. Power of Huſbands.

'I ſhall add (tho' not very material) the Proceſs of making Tar, the Product of this Place. They dig a Hole in the Ground, of a competent Size, ſome two or three Fathom deep; and, a little lower than the Middle, they make a platform of Wood, and thereon heap Earth about a Foot deep, except in the Middle, where an Hole is left in the form of a Tunnel. Then they fill the Pit with Fir Billets piled up, from the Platform, and riſing about a Fathom or more above Ground, which Part they wall about with Turf and Clay, to keep in the Fire. They command the Fire by quenching; for which Uſe they make a *Lixivium* of the Aſhes of Fir. When all is ready, they ſet Fire a-top, and keep the Wood burning, but very leiſurely, till it comes within a Foot or two of the Partition; and then they heave out the Fire as faſt as is poſſible; for if it once lay hold of the Tar, which is ſettled down into the lower Pit, it blows all up forthwith. 'Theſe Tar-pits take up a great deal of Trouble, and many men to tend them, during the Time of their burning, that the Fire may deſcend even and leiſurely, whereby the Tar may have Time to ſoak out of the Wood, and ſettle down into the Pit. As it comes from the Wood it is pure Tar, but, in the Pit, it mixeth with Water, which iſſues from the Wood alſo; therefore it muſt be clarified from it once or twice. The Proceſs of Tar-making.

'The

The manner of the *Baſtoes.*

'The manner of their *Baſtoes*, or Baths, is worth the Notice. They 'are made as a ſquare Room, in one Corner of which is built a ſort 'of Oven, the Top of which is covered with great round Pebble Stones, 'laid very thick one upon another, without any Mortar. In this Oven 'they burn an Arm-full or two of Billets, and, during the Fire, leave 'the Door open, for the Smoak to go out, which elſe, could not any 'Way paſs for the Cloſeneſs of the Room. When the Fire is out, 'and the Stones throughly hot, you go into it ſtark naked; and the 'Heat is ſo extraordinary, that in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour, the 'Sweat ſhall run from you like Water, and the Heat almoſt ſtifle you. 'There are ſeveral Benches, which are the Degrees of Heat; on the 'Ground it is tolerable, but very few are able to hold up their Heads 'to the Top of the Room, or ſtand upright. They heat the Room to 'what Degree you pleaſe, by daſhing cold Water upon the Stones, 'which doth wonderfully augment it. Theſe *Baſtoes* are ſuch com- 'mon Things, that there is ſcarce an Houſe, however poor, that 'wants one. They ſeldom or never lie with their Wives, but in the '*Baſto*; the Women are always brought to bed in it. It is common 'to ſee Men ſtand at the Church Door, not daring to enter, becauſe 'they have not waſhed ſince they lay with their Wives; ſo nice is their 'Devotion.

Manner of Work and Building.

'All the Tools they work with, about Wood, is an Hatchet, and 'all of a Bigneſs, ſo that the largeſt Trees and ſmalleſt Pieces of Wood 'are wrought upon with the ſame Tool. I believe they are the beſt 'Hatchet Men in the World; for, except a Shave, they have no other 'Tool to do all manner of Works. Moſt Houſes in the Country are 'of Wood, and have no Sort of Material elſe about them: And ſome 'again, as at the City of *Moſcow*, for Prevention of Fire, have not a 'Stick of Wood about them; the very Doors and Windows are of 'Iron. Moſt of our Ware-houſes here have Fire-cellars under them; 'it is a perfect Houſe under Ground, built as others are, and covered 'with great Trees, with a Fathom of Earth laid over it. The Door is 'deep, and laid round with Brick. When a Fire happens, the Goods 'are flung down at that Door; and there always ſtand ready about a 'dozen Barrels of Sand, which ſerve to dam up the Door. Then the 'Houſe may be burnt to the Ground, and all the Goods remain 'ſafe.

'Now it is the ſixteenth of *September*, and the Weather blows cold; 'it is Time for us to go to Sea.

Voyage from Archangel *to* Leghorn.

'AFter we came to the Height of the North Cape, our fair Weather, which we had at *Archangel*, and ſome part of the Way, quite 'left us; and there ſucceeded nothing but Storms, and exceſſive raw, 'cold, and ſnowy Weather. At firſt (in Weather bad enough, but 'nothing like to what followed) we ſplit our Main-ſail, and then we 'brought too a foul Weather (that is a bran-new) Main-ſail, but all was 'not ſufficient; for, between *Ireland* and the Height of the Cape, ſuch 'fretts of Wind came down upon us, and ſo ſuddenly, in ſuch con-'trary Points of the Compaſs, that Canvas could not ſuſtain it; but 'lying a-try, as they call it, that is, with no other Sail out, and a 'Reef of that taken in too, we ſplit our Sail from Top to Bottom, and 'the better Part was blown quite out of the Bolt-ropes, and the reſt 'not ſaved without much ado. All this while the Ship plowed her 'Mizzen-ſhrowds under Water, and then we were fain to lie a-hull, 'at the Mercy of the Sea and Waves. It is ſtrange to ſay what mighty 'Seas we had many Times. Curioſity made me leave my Bed, tho' 'very ſick, only to behold thoſe Mountains of Water, which rolled up 'and down. Conceive that the Water which is a-top, is made to 'move faſter than the great Bulk below of any great Wave driven by 'Force of the Wind; ſo you will imagine how it muſt break over the 'reſt, all in white Froth. And this the Ship is ſure to have, when it 'happens that ſhe is on the Wave, and the Break is on her Side. We 'ſhipt Seas over our Poop, and upon our Broad-ſide, from Stem to 'Stern, and after had our Main-yard waſh'd; nay he was ſure to be 'duck'd that was at the Yard-arm ſpilling the Sail.

Diſtreſs by Storm and Winds.

'Thus having loſt all our Main-ſails, the only Refuge we had, 'was, when the Wind ceaſed a little, to bring a new Fore-ſail to the 'Main-yard, and ſo ſometimes a-try, and ſometimes a-hull, we buſked 'it out, Rain and Snow continually falling. Perhaps for three Watches 'Time a nipping Froſt, and preſently after comes Rain, and then 'Snow, which, frozen on the Shrowds, fell down ready to knock the 'Sailors on the Head; ſometimes between Winds, when we went to 'looſe our Top-ſails, they were ſo frozen, we could not get them out; 'nay, our Main-tacks and Sheets, being hard frozen, if we but offered 'to bend them, broke like rotten Sticks. After the Main-ſail was ſplit, 'we had ſixteen of our Men down at once of the Cramp in their Bones, 'one ſtaying in the Fore-top, but till his Fellow went down for a Rope, 'to ſpill the Foot of the Sail, which was blown out, was frozen, and 'forced to be handed down, and laid into a warm Bed; I believe no

By Froſt, Snow and Rain.

'one

'one in the Ship had a dry Thread on his Back, ſometimes, for at 'leaſt a Fortnight together: But, God be thanked, after we had, not 'without great Danger, clawed off a Lee-Shore on the Back of *Ire-* 'land, we had fair Weather and good Wind; and ſo, without any 'thing extraordinary, but what I have wrote elſewhere, we reached '*Alicant*.

Alicant, Situation and Quarentine.

'At *Alicant* I was in a worſe Priſon than at any time before in all 'the Voyage; for the Cuſtom is there, that no Ship ſhall land either 'Men or Goods, till the Prattique Maſter is ſatisfied, that the Ship is 'healthful. In ſome Places they are (in earneſt) ſtrict concerning 'this; but here they make it a Money-Matter: And our Maſter re- 'fuſing to pay about ſix Dollars, we were forced to keep Ship about 'ſix Days, which Time we lay detained by croſs Winds, and expect- 'ing Company. The Town is very ſmall, and ſtands on the Side of 'a rocky Hill, ſtrongly walled towards the Water-ſide, and, upon the 'Walls, good Store of Guns planted to defend the Ships in the Road. 'Upon the Top of the Hill, which is extraordinary ſteep, ſtands the 'Caſtle, which is inacceſſible only by mounting up Stairs on the Out- 'ſide of the Wall.

Coaſting in the *Streights*.

'After we left *Alicant*, we had reaſonable Weather all along the 'Coaſt; for we were ſeldom a Gun-ſhot off the Shore all along the '*Streights*. We paſt the Gulf of *Lyons*, terrible to Sailors for ſud- 'den Storms and Guſts upon diverſe Points. But the two or three 'Days Low-Sail Weather ſeemed nothing to us, who came out of 'a Place for Weather far beyond the worſt that can happen in this 'Place.

Winds there uncertain.

'It is obſervable that, all along the Coaſts in theſe Seas, if there 'is not any great Storm, you are ſure to have a Land-Breeze at Night; 'ſo that when you have a handſome Gale in the Offing, drawing 'near the Land, you ſhall find the Wind to wear away; but, how- 'ever he ſpeeds that is out at Sea, at Night a Gale under the Land 'is certain: Therefore, the ſmall Boats and Settees, which dare not 'put out to Sea, for fear of the *Turks*, all day, for the moſt part, 'lie ſtill, in hope of a Wind at Night. This we had Experience of 'very often in this Paſſage; for, between *Corſica* and *Leghorn*, ſome- 'times for half an Hour, we ſhould have a handſome Gale from the 'Iſle, and preſently that Wind, reflecting from the Mountains on the 'main Land, would bring our Ship a-ſtays; and all that while we 'could perceive by the Sea, that the Wind was freſh two or three 'Leagues a-ſtern; ſo we lay much troubled between Wind and Wind, 'and had above forty Turns before we could reach the Road of *Leg-* '*horn*. About Midnight, 20th of *December* N. S. we came to an An- 'chor in Safety, for which God be praiſed.

'But

'But you may eaſily imagine what a toſs I was in, to lie about a Week aboard the Ship for want of *Prattique*. In this Town they are extraordinary ſtrict concerning Health; all Woollen Goods are put into the *Lazaretto*, which is a Place two Miles from the Town, to be aired. If Ships have touched on the *Barbary* Coaſt, or any Part of *Turky*, they will ſometimes condemn them to lie forty Days in the Road, before they will permit either Man or Goods to come aſhore. And thus we lay, with two Guardians over us, for ſix or ſeven Days, not being ſuffered to go aboard any Ship, or any one to come to us; and, for all Letters and Papers ſent aſhore, they take them in a ſlit Stick, and air them over a good Fire, before they will themſelves, or ſuffer any elſe to touch them.

Strict Quarentine at *Leghorn*.

Remarks from Italy.

'THE Town of *Leghorn* is a very ſtrong and well-fortified Place, having the Sea brought round it in Ditches, which are very deep and broad: It is very well walled with Brick-Walls of a vaſt Thickneſs, and filled up with Earth between. The Town is built of Brick and Stone, and very uniform. In *Italy*, they uſe, in building, very little Wood; their Lintels, and Jaumbs of Doors and Windows, are Stone (though the Houſes are mean) and that very hard to get of ſuch great Lengths as are fit for the Purpoſe. The Floors of all their Rooms, high and low, are all Brick, which is laid double; their Tiling is firſt flat Tile with their Edges turned up, on which they lay a ſort of ſmall Ridge Tiles to cover the Joint. The Streets are fine, ſtraight, and large, and paved with great Stones. In the middle of the Town ſtands the Cathedral, of which I need ſay no more, but that it was the Pattern of *Covent-Garden* Church, and hath before it a very ſtately Piazza in the ſame Manner.

Of *Leghorn*. The Buildings.

'On New Year's Eve, the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* invited all the *Engliſh* to a *Caccia*, as they call Hunting. So, over-night, we ſet out for *Piſa*, where the Great Duke then kept his Reſidence. *Piſa* was formerly the Head of a noble Republick, and hath maintained an hundred Gallies together for ſcouring theſe Seas; but now it is brought under Subjection, and very much ruined and depopulated. It ſtands on the River *Arno*, and hath three Bridges over it; one of which is all Marble, and built out of the Ruins of a very famous Bridge of one Arch over the great River; but it had not the Luck to ſtand a full Fortnight after it was finiſhed.

Of *Piſa*.

'Upon this Bridge, which is very broad, is every Year celebrated the *Joco di Ponte*, as they call it: It is a Game between one Side

The *Joco di Ponte*.

'of the River and the other, the Town being pretty equally divided; 'and, in this manner, two Captains of the *Joco* are chosen by the 'Duke, and they get what stout Fellows they can to be of their Side, 'whom they divide into Companies, and distinguish by painted 'Buckram Coats, perhaps three or four hundred of a Side. Upon 'the Set-day, the Duke and Ladies take Places on a Scaffold, to judge; 'and the Parties on each Side draw up near each Foot of the Bridge, 'armed to the Middle, with close Helmets, and great quilted Things 'under their Armour, to fend off the Blows which they are sure to 'have laid on. On the middle of the Bridge is a Rail laid a-cross, 'which, upon a Signal from the Duke, flies up (being made accord-'ingly) and straight the Company on each Side get themselves as close 'as they can, and to work they go, knocking one another with a 'great Instrument of thick Board almost like a Shield. Truly, the 'Play is no other, but who can crowd the rest off the Bridge. But, 'what with crowding and knocking, they make a shift to kill three or 'four in a Year, notwithstanding their Armour.

Of the Buildings and the leaning Tower.

'This Town stands fifteen *Italian*, which I suppose cannot be 'above ten of our Miles from *Leghorn*, and hath not such fair Streets 'as that, but abounds in stately Palaces of Marble, and other very 'fair Stone. It is most famous for the *Duom*, as they call Cathedral 'Churches, which is built all of Marble, and is fair Workmanship, but 'exceedingly beautified within with Gilding and carved Stone-work; 'but what is most to be admired, are the incomparable Brass Gates, 'which are massive, and cast, and most curiously adorned with histo-'rical Pictures out of the Bible, not in great, but in small Shapes. 'Truly I never saw any thing like them. At the West End there is 'another Building, very stately and high, which contains only a Font 'for Baptism, and is called *The Baptista*. On one Side stands a Build-'ing of Length and Breadth (as they say) of *Noah*'s Ark, and is filled 'with *Jerusalem* Earth, which, they affirm, consumes a Man in 'twenty-four Hours after he is buried. That which is esteemed the 'best Stone-work in the World, is the Steeple, which stands some-'what distant from the Church, and leans very much; so that you 'would swear it could not stand an Hour. I was within, and on the 'Top, which is very high, upon which it hath eight great Bells; and 'indeed the Walls are very thick, and it inclines as much on the in-'side as without, and is all of pure Marble.

The solemn Hunting.

'But now to our Game, which was after this manner: The Place 'is a Plain less than a Mile over, begirt on all Sides with very thick 'Woods, where the Deer and wild Boars are in great abundance: One 'Side of the Plain, a little Way within the Wood, is paled with Can-'vass, which the Deer will not venture to take over. When the Duke

'and

'and the Ladies have taken their Places, provided in the Field on pur-
'poſe for them, the Country People, who are diſperſed in the Woods
'in great abundance, blow Horns, ſound Trumpets, make Fires, ſhoot
'Guns, hollow, and make all the horrid Noiſes they can deviſe to
'fright the Game into the Plain; which no ſooner appear, but Men
'and Dogs do their beſt to kill them, ſome on Horſeback with Lances
'and Spears, ſome on Foot with Javelins and Halberts: Guns are not
'permitted, but to the Duke only: No ſort of fair Play ſhewed, but
'all Speed is made after every thing that appears. He that gives the
'firſt Wound hath the Humblets for his Pains. It is very good Sport,
'and wants nothing but to be rewarded as ours in *England*, with good
'Eating after it is over; for their Deer are meer Carrion, which none
'cares to eat of; but the Great Duke powdereth them up for the Gal-
'lies. It is very ordinary in this manner, in three Hours time, to
'kill about forty Deer, and perhaps as many Hogs.

'The Duke is very nice of his Game; and it is no leſs than Gally- The Game preſerved.
'matter for any Man to kill Deer or Hog, except at this general
'Hunt.

'The like Severity is uſed for killing Geeſe or Ducks, which being Geeſe and Ducks very tame.
'ſo preſerved, in a fenny Place, about four Miles from *Leghorn*,
'there are an unimaginable Number of both, as I ſaw, covering the
'Place, which is large; and ſo tame, that, on our paſſing by with
'Horſes, not Gun-ſhot off, we could not raiſe them with all our
'ſhouting.

'The Woods are green all Winter; not that all Trees in this Coun- Woods, and the Cork-tree.
'try are ſo; but ſome Sorts, of which there are whole Woods, never
'ſhed all their Leaves, but ſome inſenſibly decaying, and others in
'prime. One of theſe Sorts is the Cork-tree; our Cork is but the
'inner Bark of it, and, where it is taken off, it grows again, and the
'Wood ſwells with it ſo, that an old Tree, often peeled in this man-
'ner, ſhall be grown almoſt four-ſquare.

'Deſcribing *Leghorn*, I almoſt forgot to ſpeak of the *Mole*, which Of the Mole.
'is a Defence made for the Ships to lie under out of Danger of the
'Sea, which, upon ſome Winds, is very rough in the open Roads.
'It is a ſort of Wall built in the Sea againſt that Point of Wind that
'moſt raiſeth Waves. They build under Water about four Fathom
'by two Ways, either with Piles drove into the Ground, and then
'firſt throwing in Mortar, and after it Stones, till the Work appear
'above Water; and then they build as they pleaſe: Elſe, this Way
'being inconvenient in deep and rough Water, they go thus to work;
'firſt make the Place, intended for Building, as plain as may be; then,
'having great Cheſts of Wood prepared, they fill them with, or ra-
'ther build in them, perfect Wall; after which, they are let down

'with Cords upon the Place deſigned for them; and ſo having many 'ready, they ſet them one upon another till the Tops appear above 'Water, and then build upon them. They ſay this Mole, as alſo that 'of *Genoa*, which is accounted the beſt in the World, are ſo built. 'But, on the back-ſide, towards the Sea, are thrown thouſands of 'Rocks, without Order; whereby you may conceive, that the afore-'ſaid Building ſerves not ſo much to keep off the Violence of the 'Sea's Breach, as to make a perpendicular Wall, ſo as a Ship, that 'rides behind it, may ride cloſe without Damage.

Excreſcences and *Coagulums* of Stone.

'Now I am ſpeaking of Walls and Stones, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of 'my Obſervation as I paſſed over the Mountains between *Piſa* and '*Lucca*. I paſſed by Places which were in a manner perpendicular, 'and ſeem not made ſo either by the falling or taking away of any Part, 'and ſaw, as it were, great Wens grow out as you know common 'from Trees, eſpecially the Maple. I remember, at the Mole of *Leg-'horn*, I took ſpecial Notice of Pieces of Rocks thrown there of per-'haps ten Ton Weight, which one would ſwear, at a near View, 'were only great Heaps of Clay ſtuck with ſmall Pebble-ſtones; but, 'coming to touch them, ſuch was their Hardneſs, though ſeeming ſo 'ſoft, that you could not with any Force part away one of thoſe little 'Stones (the Whole being but many of them ſtuck together) with-'out breaking, as would happen rather than the Mortar, as I may call 'it, would let go its Hold.

The Carnival.

'Now is the Time between *Chriſtmas* and *Lent*, which is call'd '*Carnival*. The People uſe all the Mirth they can deviſe; ſuch as 'paſſing in Maſquerade Clothes, one after one, and another after an-'other manner; toſſing Eggſhells with ſweet Water, where they ſee 'Women they like; and thus toſſing Eggs at firſt, the Women will 'reach them till the Basket be divided betwixt them, and then to 'pelting each other they go; and ſo are all Sundays and Holidays 'ſpent.

Of *Lucca*.

'The keeping the *Calcia* at *Lucca* very ſolemnly this Year, invited 'many from this Place, whereof I was one, to go and ſee it. It is a 'fair City, the Head of a Republick, that lies between the Moun-'tains, of which ſmall States there are many hereabouts. In this 'Town are many fair Palaces and brave Buildings of Stone, but the 'Narrowneſs of the Streets ſpoils the Beauty of them. It is finely 'walled about, and hath a ſtrong Garriſon continually in it. The 'People are accounted the civilleſt in all *Italy*; and, in their Cuſ-'toms, are neareſt to the *Engliſh* of any; nor are they ſo ſtrict 'over their Daughters, nor jealous of their Wives, as their Neigh-'bours.

'The

'The *Calcia* is a Play to which the Inhabitants invited the Duke 'of *Hinſburg*, and I believe coſt them three thouſand Dollers, for they, 'who played, were all in (white on one Side and red on the other) 'Sattin Doublets, with ſuitable Caps; Trumpeters and Drummers with 'rich Liveries of the appropriated Colours, and laced. There was 'one hundred and forty that played of a Side, all thus habited; the 'Princes of the *Calcia* and their Pages in Cloth of Silver. The Play was 'almoſt after the manner of Foot-ball; only they obſerve no certain 'Goal, and ſtrike the Ball with their Hands, and they, who can get 'the Ball beyond the appointed Bounds, win; but the greateſt Sport we 'had, was to ſee them fight for the Ball when it was in the Middle of 'them all. The *Calcia* Sport.

'15th. *Febr.* Now *Carnival* begins to grow hot, the Sundays come 'not about faſt enough; ſo that ſcarce a Day is for Buſineſs, but all 'for Sport; he is a wiſe Man that now knows of what Sex his Com- 'panion is; ſo frequent is it for Women to alter their Habits. But then 'the Man ſhall be in Petty-coats (if it be for nought elſe but to accom- 'pany his diſguiſed Bed-fellow) leſt her Diſguiſing ſhould be a Means 'to ſet a Beaſt-like Mark upon her Huſband's Head. So damnably 'jealous are theſe, and ſuch a Faſhion is it to be ſo amongſt them, that 'he, who, at his going abroad, locks not his Wife up, not ſuffering 'her at any Time to ſtir abroad, unleſs to Church, and not then 'without a Guardian, is eſteemed no leſs than the worſt of Cuckolds. 'Nor is their Jealouſy leſs over their Daughters, who are kept in the 'moſt extreme Severity imaginable; ſo that their Sweethearts make 'Love to them at the Window; nor is their Conſent at all thought 'neceſſary, if the old Man can but find a Match to his liking, be the 'Conditions never ſo bad on the Maid's Side; but yet they have the 'Wit to allow themſelves all the Freedom in the World, it being no 'Diſgrace for the beſt Man in *Leghorn*, to keep two or three Ladies 'of Pleaſure, and to own it publicly; nor do the light Sort of Women, 'of which there are in this Town abundance (nor indeed are they 'ſcarce in any Part of *Italy*) imagine any Diſgrace, in publicly own- 'ing their Profeſſion. And I believe their frequent going to Church '(they appearing moſt fervent in their Devotions) aims only at like Suc- 'ceſs; as when the Sea-man returning ſaid to his Wife, *Are you turned 'Bawd yet? No* John *ſaid the Woman, I am a Whore ſtill, and I hope 'God will keep me ſo.* Of the Women at *Leghorn*.

'*March* . . . . Now the People of this Town have a Devotion 'to a Place called St. *Jacopo's*, about a Mile out of Town every *Friday* 'in this Month; whither Wives and Daughters, who at no Time elſe 'ſee the Sun but at their Windows, and in a ſhort Walk to the Church, 'now have the Pleaſure of ſo fine a Walk, to their own refreſhing no 'leſs Devotion to St. *Jacopo*.

'leſs than the Delight of ſuch as pretend an Intereſt in them, and 'yet never ſaw more of 'em than their Heads at a Window.

Affect *Engliſh* Things.

'The Women of this Place are for the moſt Part black haired, ſome 'of them fair and well featured, and (for the better Sort) go after the '*Engliſh* or *French* Faſhion. I remember, I have heard you ſay that 'Faſhions and Manners generally travel from South to North, which 'Opinion I would have you recant; for here ſhe counts herſelf not fine 'that hath not ſomething *Engliſh* about her. And to ſay this or that 'comes from *England*, gives a greater Eſteem than we conceive when, 'at home, we call any Thing *French* or *Italian*. And this, not for 'ſome Particulars, but, for all manner of Things. The Men alſo are 'habited in the ſame Way.

Engliſh Dancing, and the Temper of the Country.

'Here is a Fellow in Town, who lived five or ſix Years with a 'Merchant in *London*, and this Carnival, taught ſeven or eight of his 'Comrades to dance after the *Engliſh* Faſhion, only two or three 'Country Dances, which they performed at a *Villice* (that is a Meeting 'for Dancing) and with ſo general Applauſe, that it is ſaid the Great 'Duke will have them dance before him at his next coming to this 'Place. This is only to ſhew the falſe Relations of many who travel 'theſe Parts; and that we have no Reaſon to undervalue ourſelves at 'Home ſo much as many do; I not finding any one Thing, which 'may make me prefer this Country, ſetting aſide only the Stone-build-'ings, and the Temper of the Air in Winter. But then, as the Winter 'is temperate and ſerene, and the Fields green, ſo the extraordinary 'Heat of the Summer burns up all; wherefore the Winter is juſtly 'eſteemed the moſt pleaſant Time. I am not, in what I ſay here, at all 'partial, but endeavour as near as poſſibly I can, to expreſs my own 'Senſe of what I obſerve. And I am confident none can tax what I 'ſay of the leaſt Falſity, whatever may appear of Negligence or Igno-'rance in ill ſetting it down; and I would not have any one think I 'eſteem it an Excuſe or Commendation to myſelf to ſay, as I muſt 'do, that my Thoughts are here ſet down without either Premedita-'tion or Alteration.

Viſits *Florence*.

'The tedious Stay of the *Hollanders* Convoy, on which I intend my 'Paſſage to *Smyrna*, makes me continue at *Leghorn* longer than I am 'willing; it being to me loſs of Time as well as chargeable; ſo that, 'having nothing to do, my Buſineſs not lying here, I undertake a 'Journey to *Florence*, which is a City about fifty-five Miles from 'hence: That Nearneſs of the Place, Convenience of Company, and its 'being ſo well worth ſeeing, inclined me to bring that Voyage under 'my Account of Expences, which will be conſiderable, lying ſtill 'here. Perhaps my Friends may think this viſiting of Places no Sign 'of good Huſbandry; but let it be conſidered that an idle Perſon is ſub-

'ject to Expence, wherever he lieth, and the well Employment of 'Time, and Experience to be gained this Way, may countervail ſome 'Encreaſe of Charge.

'The Road to *Florence* is all along very pleaſant, Corn Fields, 'green on all Sides, and planted with Willow or Sallow Trees pretty 'thick, but orderly, which ſerve only for Stakes for the Vines which 'are planted at their Roots. The Country in the Plains very fruitful 'and pleaſant, and very well watered with Rivulets, which ſpring from 'the rocky Mountains not far off. On all my Way to this City, I have 'not ſeen any fallow Ground at all; but they uſe dunging the Ground 'ſo much, that it is a very ordinary calling for young fellows to 'travel the Roads, with a Baſket at their Necks, to pick up Horſe-'dung, *&c.* which they ſell to Country-men at a Price according to the 'Quality. The manner of Landlord's dealing with Tenants, is quite 'different from the common Uſe in *England*; for they bargain with 'a Country-fellow, as well as they can, for what Share of the Crop 'the Man will allow; he being at the Charge and Pains to till the 'Ground, and the Landlord uſually finding half the Seed, and hath 'commonly the ſame Part of the Crop; but they regulate their Bar-'gains according to the Fruitfulneſs of the Land; ſo alſo for Wine 'and Oil. Of the Country and Huſbandry.

'I have often ſeen thoſe three moſt uſeful Things in the World 'produced in one and the ſame Field, the Olive-trees amongſt the Corn, 'and the Wine in the Trees. But, in this Place, the Gentlemen have 'one Prerogative which, for Contrariety to our Uſe, may ſeem ſtrange. 'No Country-man is ſuffered to ſell any Wine but by Wholeſale; Re-'tailing being reſerved as proper only for the Nobility and Gentry: 'And to ſignify the ſame, you ſhall not ſee a Gentleman's Houſe any 'where, without an empty Flaſk, and there the People go and fetch 'their Wine Flaſk by Flaſk; and in *Florence*, he, that hath a Flaſk hang 'longeſt at his Door, is counted the richeſt Man. The Gentry are the Retai-lers.

'The City of *Florence* ſtands upon the River *Arno* whereby it is 'parted, but joins itſelf again by four Bridges, upon the chief of which 'only Silver-ſmiths are permitted; who, contrary to the uſual Manner 'in *London*, work and ſell both. The River is broad but ſhallow, and 'navigable only by ſmall Boats, which ſerve to bring up Merchandiſes 'from *Leghorn*; it is ſcarce navigable at all above the Town; but ex-'treme ſubject to ſudden riſings from Rains, which, in this Country, 'fall very fierce, and, coming from the Hills, cauſe exceſſive Floods, 'and, not only ſudden but, often; and Banks are maintained upon the 'River accordingly. The Town is walled and ditched about, but kept 'dry for the Profit of the Ground. It is ſo ordered that, at a very 'ſmall Warning, the Ditch may be filled from *Arno*. The Walls are Of *Florence* and its Build-ings.

'antient

'antient and not thick, of Stone, and encompaſs the whole City, and 'ſomewhat more. Altho' the Compaſs of the Walls makes the City ſeem 'large, yet, in Truth, one Quarter of the incloſed Ground is un-'peopled, and ſown with Corn, and Wine, planted, beſides Gardens 'which moſt Houſes have. But the religious Houſes eſpecially are 'very well accommodated in this kind; and there are abundance of 'them in this Place; they count one hundred and twelve Nunneries, 'beſides Seminaries and other Orders of Men, of which there is no 'Want. The Streets are extreme beautiful, clean, and neat; adorned 'on either Side with the Palaces of the Noblemen of this Country, 'which Palaces are built of very fair Stone, and well wrought. The 'Churches alſo are very beautiful, moſt of which are of coloured Marble, 'very fine to ſee; the *Duom* after the aforeſaid manner, large and very 'high, and alſo the *Cupola*, as they call it, which is round and very 'high, for at the Summit ſtands a Copper Ball gilt, which below ſeems 'of no extraordinary Bulk, and yet of Capacity to receive in the Hol-'low above twenty Men.

Of the rich Chapel.

'They have got a Trick in this Town, not to finiſh their Churches, 'but leave ſome Part or other not done; and 'tis ſaid that the Great 'Dukes have a Policy in it; for, by that Means, they keep to themſelves 'Revenues deſtined for that Purpoſe, which otherwiſe would go out 'of their Hands. Amongſt the reſt of the unfiniſhed Buildings I will 'reckon a Chapel, begun a long Time ſince by ſome of the Duke's 'Anceſtors, ſo extraordinary rich, and of ſuch admirable Workman-'ſhip, that the like is not elſewhere to be found, as all Men agree. As 'for the Outſide, little of what is deſigned is yet done to it; and the 'Inſide not half ended; it is all done with hard precious Stones ſorted 'by Colours no other than the Natural of the Stone; and yet the Coats 'of Arms, and all other Forms, are wrought lively beyond all Power of 'Deſcription, and, for Strength and Luſtre, far beyond any Painting. 'For Red, they uſe Coral, for White, Mother of Pearl: Porphyry and 'Chryſtal, are the loweſt Materials they uſe. In fine, it is ſo rich, that 'I am of Opinion it will never be ended; for the Duke allows but 'thirty thouſand Crowns *per Annum*, which makes but a ſmall Ap-'pearance in ſeven Years Work. The Altar is almoſt ended, being of 'the ſame ſort of rich Stone-work; the Table or main Part of it, 'whereon the Maſs is ſaid, is of pure beaten Gold (kept in another 'Place to be ſeen) and the Croſs to it is large and all of Diamonds. I 'am almoſt aſhamed of what I here write concerning this Chapel; 'for the Workmanſhip is ſo excellent, and the Materials of ſuch ex-'traordinary Value, that no Man, who ſees it not, can believe what 'is ſaid of it, and even he, that ſees, is not able to conceive the Labour, 'and Skill which is neceſſarily uſed in compoſing theſe precious Stones;

'you ſhall ſee of them, in one Coat of Arms, without Number, and 'yet ſo exquiſitely joined and ſet in, as you cannot apprehend poſſible 'to be done.

'From this let me proceed to a Deſcription, tho' imperfect, of the 'Duke's Gallery, which I account the next Thing of notable Im- 'portance. It is a Place long and double, and, at the Bottom, arched 'like the Exchange of *London*, and differs from that, in not being 'ſquare, but of great Length, and open at one End. At the Bottom, 'you paſs thro' open Vaults into ſeveral Rooms, where Law-matters 'and other public State-buſineſſes, are kept. Over them, are ſeveral 'Rooms round about, for the Workmen to work in, for the Chapel, and 'other Curioſities in Stone-work, wherein the Duke delights extremely. 'Over this is nothing but a plain Gallery, on both Sides adorned with 'Statues; and on the outermoſt Side are hung Pictures of moſt Men 'of Note; as Kings, *&c.* in *Chriſtendom*. Several Rooms open into this 'Gallery, in which the Duke delights to preſerve all manner of Ra- 'rities, Antiquities, and curious Workmanſhip of all Sorts. In one 'Room are to be ſeen all Sorts of Armour and Weapons of War, an- 'cient, and as well ſuch as were formerly uſed in theſe Parts of the 'World, as what have been found in foreign Countries, and Lands, 'at their firſt Diſcovery.

The Great Duke's Gallery, and Curioſities.

'Another Room is full of Relicks of Antiquity of all Sorts, as Sta- 'tues, old Iron Work, and Pictures, which they ſay had their being 'very long ago, and are the Works of the firſt Profeſſors of that Art. 'There are alſo, in that Room, Pieces of Ivory wrought moſt exquiſitely; 'but of theſe Matters Expreſſion fails, they are peculiar to Sight. The 'curious Workmanſhip and pretty Livelineſs of the Poſtures make them 'moſt worth any Man's View, that hath Occaſion to come this Way. 'There are ſmall Figures of Ivory, but yet not ſo ſmall but far exceed 'any one Piece, and the Joints are ſo exact, you cannot perceive where 'the Pieces are put together; and for Turnery Work, there is of it ſo 'ſmall and crooked, as is admirable.

A Room of Curioſities.

'From this Gallery we paſſed into ſeveral other Rooms fraught 'with Rarities of various Sorts. The Duke much delights in Works 'of Stone, as I ſaid, and therein Repreſentations of Birds and Flowers, 'and other Things upon Cabinets, and Tables, of which the very beſt 'are here to be ſeen. Among others, he hath one round Table not very 'large, ſo admirably wrought, repreſenting all manner of Flowers in 'Pots, that he eſteems it invaluable. There are Cabinets extraordinary 'rich, adorned, not only with this ſort of Stone-work but, with Jewels 'alſo, and the beſt to be found of all Sorts. I ſhall ſay no more con- 'cerning theſe Rarities, but leave much to your own Imagination to 'ſuggeſt;

More, and of the Moſaic Works.

'ſuggeſt; and paſs to what I have to obſerve without the City, that 'is, the Gardens, and Country-houſes of the Noblemen of this Place.

The Houſes and Water-works.

'As for their Houſes, they are pretty and convenient, but ſmall; yet 'large enough to contain the moſt numerous Family of any amongſt 'this People; for it is not the Uſe here as in *England*, for a Gentle-'man to keep many Servants. You will find the Expence of a Noble-'man here, in matter of Servants and Houſekeeping, to be ſhort of an 'ordinary Gentleman in *England*. But, as for their Gardens, and Wa-'ter-works, they are very ſumptuous; and the Places hereabouts are 'very fit for all ſorts of Inventions in Water, ſtanding not far from 'the great Hills, whereby, with a ſmall Charge, they raiſe Water to 'what Height they pleaſe. It is hard to make a Deſcription of theſe 'Things; the Deſign of all commonly is to imitate Rocks and Caverns 'under Ground, Rains, and Rivers with Tides. Theſe Inventions are 'ſo cunningly laid, as ſhall entrap the unacquainted Stranger, be he 'never ſo cautious. As, in ſome of theſe Summer-rooms (which are 'all vaulted and marbled) ſome Chairs are ſo made and placed that, 'after you have ſat in them a ſmall Time, an hundred ſeveral Spouts 'ſhall be upon you.

The Shew of perpetual Motion.

'In one of theſe Palaces, belonging to the Duke's Brother (a Cardinal) 'among diverſe other Rarities, they ſhew a perpetual Motion, as they call 'it, which is two Braſs Balls running in an hollow Ring of the ſame 'Metal, and when one comes to the Bottom the other is a-top, and 'that, at the Bottom, falls off upon a Spring which beats it up to the 'Top again; and ſo the Motion continues. But you muſt know that 'the Spring is invigorated by Clockwork underneath, and ſo the per-'petual Motion is but temporary. The Device is ſo clever, it is paſt 'my Skill to deſcribe it, only ſo far, that the Parts fail of the Conti-'nuance of Motion pretended.

Paſſage to Smyrna.

Of the Burning Mountains.

'IN my Return from *Florence*, I paſſed thro' another Part of the 'Country, and took *Pratoa* and *Piſtoa* in my Way, and ſo by '*Lucca* to *Legborn*, where I paſſed away my tedious Time as well as 'I could, till the Arrival of the *Flemiſh* Convoy bound for *Smyrna*, the 'Port I am deſigned for.

May 20. 'And upon this Convoy I took my Paſſage, leaving *Italy* a-ſtern; 'and, after various Winds, we arrived in Sight of that Mountain (of 'which I have ſomewhat to ſay) called *Strombolo*. It ſtands about 'ten Leagues diſtant from the Vear of *Meſſina*, and at the Time of 'our paſſing by, according to its uſual Cuſtom, belch'd out Fire and

'Smoke

'Smoke in a moſt terrible Sort; ceaſing about half a Quarter of an 'Hour between Time and Time; and this is its continual Courſe more 'or leſs; but, in its Violence, it is governed by the Winds. Not far 'from this ſtands another Mountain called . . . . . which caſts out 'Smoke in great Abundance, but never Flame. We paſſed near 'enough to have ſeen the Flame of Mount *Ætna*, but it was not at this 'Time in the Condition of *Strombolo*; ſo we ſaw the Mountain with-'out either Fire or Smoke.

Of *Meſſina*, and the Feaſt of *Madona de la Littere*.

'In that narrow Streight between *Sicily* and *Italy* ſtands the Town of '*Meſſina*, famous for the Commodiouſneſs of the Harbour; but for 'nought elſe that I know, except the Superſtition of the People. We 'had the Happineſs to have full Sight of that, and their Pride, the 'firſt of *June*, which began the three Days Feaſt of the *Madona de la* '*Littere* ſo ſolemnly obſerved by them, as no Town can boaſt the like; 'only they want Antiquity to authenticate their Ceremonies; for they 'began it about three or four Years ſince, and every Year it is aug-'mented. They are not ſtated to any particular Place of the City, 'but generally all over, every Man, of what Trade ſoever he be, en-'deavours to make his Shop as fine as he can. The Goldſmiths ſet 'forth their Plate, ſome make Flags of Silver Diſhes, ſodered or tacked 'together, and hang them out in the Streets; ſo other Trades ſet out 'their Wares, even Shoemakers and Horn-ſellers. And within their 'Shops, they all endeavour, as near as they can, to reſemble Churches, 'with Altars, *&c.* and all in Devotion to the Lady; and a World of 'ſtrange Miracles doth this ſhort Time produce, while the Ceremony 'laſts, loſt Goods found, Examples made on ſuch as thieve at this 'Time, which they account no leſs than Sacrilege in an high Degree. 'One Place had a Fancy which pleaſed me; it was the Quarter of the 'Cheeſe-mongers and Bacon-ſellers, *&c.* In a broad Place they had 'made artificial Trees, hung as thick of all Sorts of Proviſions, as 'you can well imagine, to be in Imitation of Plenty. So here was 'Meat, but none to be ſold, Wares, but none to be bought, and 'the Shops were Churches without any Maſſes.

The Night-ſhew, *&c.* prevented.

'The Day Time had the leaſt Share of this glorious Ceremony; 'for, in the Night, the Churches were ſet out with Lamps, and Flags 'of ſuch Lights hung out in the Street, and all the upper, as well as 'the lower, Windows illuminated with three Tire of Lights at leaſt. 'We ſaw alſo the general Preparations that were made in public Parts 'of the Streets for Fire-works, *&c.* and for the Proceſſion of the Hair 'of the Lady, wherewith her Letter was ſealed; but the Wind permitting 'our Stay for one Day only, did without Doubt deprive us of the beſt 'Part of the Ceremony, which was to come at laſt.

Winds in the *Archipelago*.

'Under an handſome Gale, we put to Sea, and came among the many 'Iſlands in the *Archipelago*; but it failed us, and ſoon proved worſe than 'ſo, freſh and contrary, which forced us to lie baſking in thoſe nar- 'row Seas, expecting when a more favourable Gale would help us on 'our Way to our deſired Port of *Smyrna*, which did not preſently 'come to diſmiſs us out of this Purgatory.

Variety of Paſſengers.

'We are here in the Ship ſeveral Nations of all Sorts, *French*, *Ita- 'lian*, *Spaniſh*, *Dutch*, *Armenian*, *Greek*, and what not; and as much 'Variety of Religions and Languages, and none wanting Company to 'ſpeak with in any Language he pleaſeth, except myſelf, that am left 'to talk *Engliſh* all alone. The utmoſt Extremity of bad Weather, 'or what elſe deſperate Danger can happen, would be almoſt welcome 'to me, as the Caſe ſtands, only to have the Diverſion of ſeeing what 'Effects it would have upon our Paſſengers; then we ſhould enjoy 'them in their ſeveral Sorts of Humours, far ſurpaſſing the beſt Co- 'medies you have at *London*; you may conceive what a dumb Shew 'I ſhould have had here, if the Time of my Stay at *Leghorn* had not 'made me ſomewhat acquainted with the *Italian* Tongue, which is 'moſt generally ſpoken of any. The Language is not difficult; and 'I find the little Latin I have to be an extraordinary Help in attain- 'ing it.

The *Dutch* heavy Sailors.

'After three or four Days baſking thus in the *Archipelago* with 'contrary Winds, between *Negropont* and *Andria*, with Wind and 'Current in our Teeth, ſo freſh that we could get nothing by board- 'ing it; a fine Gale ſprang up, with which we hoped to weather *Chio*. 'But theſe *Flemings* were ſuch dull Beaſts, both Ships and Men, that 'nothing, but what is very ordinary, is to be expected from them; I 'will not ſay that they grudge Pains, for they are laborious enough; 'but they have not the Nimbleneſs and Ingenuity as I have ſeen in our '*Engliſh* Mariners. *Hans* will ſooner heave a Dogs Turd over-board, 'than beſtir himſelf to ſave a Sail when it is ſplitting. I believe, had 'our *Archangel* Veſſel been man'd with this Sort of People, after the 'Rate they behaved themſelves here, we ſhould not have come off as 'we did. It may be ſaid I am partial; for did not the *Dutch-men* 'paſs the ſame Voyage with us, and at the ſame Time? It's true, but, 'when we were tacking and turning in Extremity of Weather, to get 'a little a-head; they took in all their Sails, and went all Hands to the 'Grout-pot and Bread-baſket. And that was the Reaſon that, in this 'Voyage from *Ruſſia*, of our three Companions, the firſt arrived twenty 'four Days, and the laſt five Weeks, at *Leghorn* after us, tho' we ſet 'out together. They ſplit Sails here in the *Archipelago*, and in the 'Vear of *Meſſina*, ſo as one would be aſhamed to ſpeak of it. And '*Hans* ſtood gaping up with all his Eyes to ſee which Way the Wind

'went

'vent to work to do it; and, ſo long as they have more Sails be-
'low, it matters not with them; and, to let the Ship come a-ſtays,
'is the leaſt thing of a thouſand. Well: But of this more than
'enough. With this good Gale, 3d *June*, we arrived at *Smyrna*.'

Remarks from Smyrna.

'AS to the Tides here, there is not any, at leaſt as we think; for, the Place ſtanding in a great Bay, the Motion of the Wa-
'ter is hindered by the Winds, which here, all Summer, conſtantly
'blow the chief Part of the Day, that is, from nine to ſix, off from
'Sea, coming not always juſt at the ſame Hour, but a little ſooner
'or later, and ſo hard that it ſeems a Storm. This is called the
'*Embatty*, which, with the other Winds, altogether govern our Wa-
'ters. They are very low with a Northern Wind, and with a
'Southern, or *Embatty* from the Sea, very high. I have not heard
'that any Place in the *Streights* hath any conſiderable Tide, except
'*Venice*, where it flows orderly.

No Tides for the *Embatty*.

'We have a Caſtle here, which ſtands by the Sea-ſide, on a Point
'of Land about three Leagues from the Town, and uſually it is
'moſt plain to be ſeen; but ſometimes, in thick Weather, it is not
'diſcernable by any Man that ſtands upon the Ground, yet mount-
'ing a few Steps, it may be ſeen; and by this we judge how thick
'the Air is; for in the thicker Air you muſt mount ſo much higher
'to ſee it. This I alledge, to diſprove the Reaſon given for the Sun's
'Abſence a-low, and Appearance upon the Top-maſt Head, to be
'the ſolid Earth or Water, from the Convexity interpoſing; for that
'is always the ſame, and cannot change with every Weather. This
'is an excellent Place for Experiments of this kind; for we perfectly
'know the Diſtance of Ships from us, by Land-marks, which of
'Neceſſity they muſt paſs; and a ſmall Matter of Clearneſs or Thick-
'neſs of the Weather, makes ſo much Difference, that we judge it
'by how much we can ſee of a Ship, when ſhe is at ſuch or ſuch a
'Place: And, with Help of Glaſſes, we ſhall only ſee a Ship's
'two Top-ſails, when, in clear Weather, we ſhall ſee her low Sails
'alſo. And the like Difference is between the Clearneſs of the Top-
'ſails more than of the lower, which confirms this Opinion.

The Effect of the Air by Clearneſs or Foulneſs.

'As to the *Greeks* of this Country, they live not up in the Mid-
'lands, but in few Places; their Reſidence being moſt in Port-Towns,
'as here, *Conſtantinople*, *&c.* The Iſlands of the *Archipelago* are
'altogether inhabited by them. They pay to the Grand Signior
'yearly ſix Dollars an Head, Poor and Rich, which is levied by
'the

The *Greeks* oppreſſed by the *Turks*.

'the *Arachgues*, the Duty being called *Arrach*. The *Turks* have 'diverſe Ways of eating (as it is here termed) upon them, often puniſh-'ing them for their Habits, if in it they at all incline to the ordinary 'Wear of the *Turks*. Every Governor, upon his firſt coming, will 'be ſure to fine them in a round Sum, which they levy among them-'ſelves as beſt they may; their uſual Way is to join Trades, and bring 'the Money in.

Trades governed.

'All Trades here have Heads, much like the Maſters of Companies 'in *England*, who ſee that every one doth his Duty. They have 'Churches; and all Freedom in performing their Ceremonies, that 'poſſibly can be allowed them; the *Turks* holding, that all Men are 'to be ſaved by their own Religion; ſo that neither *Chriſtian*, *Turk*, 'nor *Jew* can curſe either's Faith, but, upon Complaint to the Magi-'ſtrate you may have them puniſhed.

State of the *Greeks*.

'The *Greeks* are generally ſo poor, that they are not look'd on by 'the *Turks* with any Envy, but Scorn; few ever attaining to any 'great Eſtate; but if any happen to do ſo, he muſt look to bribe 'high ſuch great Men as know him, to keep them his Friends, and 'live in what Obſcurity he can. But, after all, it is very hard for him 'to behave himſelf all his Life, ſo as, at one Time or other, they ſhall 'not find an Hole in his Coat, at which they drain out that which 'otherwiſe might have troubled his Children to divide; but, if he 'keep it till his Death, what Children he has ſhare it.

Governors tyrannous, and yet Slaves.

'The Power, which Governors of Towns have over the *Greeks*, is 'uncontroulable; none being able to conteſt with a potent *Turk*, un-'leſs he can make one more potent his Friend, and ſo eſcape. Thoſe, 'that have Lands, hold them by a Writing, and *Turkiſh* Witneſſes, who 'muſt be preſent at the Bargain. Of the Fruits they pay one Tenth 'to the Aga of the Place, who, buying his Government of the Grand 'Signior by Extortion and what not, makes as much as he can of 'it during his Abode, which is never long; the Poor of all Sorts are 'Slaves to the Rich, and, among the Rich, there are often Money-com-'bats; that is, they go to *Conſtantinople* and bribe for Places, which 'may make them Maſters one over the other. It is common ſo as not 'to be thought at all ſtrange, for a *Chiaus* to come down, and take 'off a great Man's Head, and then eat up all he finds of his.

Of *Turkiſh* Government.

'*Turkiſh* Government is Tyranny in the higheſt Degree. And theſe 'Inconveniences come of it; that no Man is ſure of enjoying what 'he is poſſeſſed of an Hour, but lieth at the Mercy of his Superiors; 'and yet there is no Place in the World in which an ingenious Perſon 'comes ſooner and certainer to Preferment, than in the *Turkiſh* Court. 'For there is no Nobility, nor doth any great Man's Son enjoy his 'Father's Eſtate; but when any rich Man dies (that is very rich) the

'Grand

Grand Signior preſently takes what he can find, and gives a Portion to his Children, as he thinks convenient. He, that riſeth from a Foot-man to be a Baſha, is not at all diſ-eſteemed for the Meanneſs of his Birth, no more than a poor great Man's Son is eſteemed for the Height of his, after his Father is dead, or in Diſgrace.

Happy Situation ſpoiled.

'We live here in a Country admirably pleaſant, and bringing forth all that's to be deſired both for Delicacy and ordinary Food. I ſhould eſteem the Natives here, were they not ſo much enſlaved by their Rulers, for a People living in the Height of Happineſs; but, as they are uſed by the Tyranny of the Place, under which we alſo groan, it is far otherwiſe; only we have this Advantage, to think of our Friends, and returning to them in *England*, which is the greateſt of our Felicity.

Of the Houſing, and the Antiquities.

'The People of this Country, and others, are ſo extraordinary much for the Time preſent, that none takes Care, when he builds an Houſe, that it may laſt above twenty or thirty Years; by Reaſon of which, you ſhall not ſee a good Houſe in any Place whatever. They are generally built of Bricks ſunburnt only, and laid with Dirt, which, in ſome Places, is daubed on the Outſide with Mortar; and often they are ſo built that a wet Winter waſheth them down. I believe that, by Reaſon of much Rain that fell here, this Place felt the Deſtruction of above one hundred Houſes. When this Generation is paſt, and the Country comes to be inhabited by a People laborious and induſtrious, as hath formerly been; in a very ſmall Time, nothing will be left whereby Poſterity may know, that ſuch People as theſe ever inhabited here. Whereas, on the other Side, all the Spite of Time and the *Turks*, cannot raze out of the Country the Marks of great and admirable Structures, as Fountains, Aqueducts, and Temples.

Of common Petrification.

'I wiſh that I were capable of laying down in fit Expreſſions what I have ſeen. I have paſſed thro' Holes cut in entire Rock (of what Uſe God knows) which were a Furlong long, and there perhaps ſtopt with Ruins; in ſome, clear Paſſages, but all in ſtony unfrequented Places. As to what is ſaid concerning the Growth of Stones, I think it reaſonable and true; for here on the Side of a rocky Hill full of Springs, and of an Earth, fitter, as I ſuppoſe for Petrification than ordinary is, I have obſerved that which fully confirms what is conjectured; for I found here, in ſeveral Places where the Water hath fallen down, the Stones to be exactly like Icicles, which are of a Sort ſo intricate, that it is impoſſible Stones ſhould be worn in the like Form, but muſt proceed by Water and Earth petrified. When you ſee the Side of an Houſe down which the Water hath fallen in froſty Weather, and there frozen, think you ſee this Place.

'When

'When I was about *Florence*, I ſaw many artificial Grots and Rocks
'with Water-works, in which the natural of this was perfectly imi-
'tated. Now I have ſeen the Original, as I may call it, I eſteem the
'Copy far more than I did, or could have done before.'

His mercantile Stock and Factorage very ſmall.

After theſe troubleſome Voyages well over, our young Factor found himſelf, what he infinitely deſired to be, an Agent for his Maſter, and Factor ſettled at *Smyrna*. His chief Dependance was upon the Benefit of his Commiſſions; for his own Capital was inconſiderable; he had from his Parents but one ſingle hundred Pounds advanced for him to trade with. But his Mother, out of an Hoard ſhe had made of ſmall Legacies given him, and ſome old Gold of her own, and other Matters ſhe had ſcrap'd together, made up about ſixty Pounds more, and his beſt Brother lent him what Money he had, which was about two hundred Pounds, his whole Inventory ſcarce amounted to four hundred Pounds; and this was all the Beginning this famous Merchant had. It doth not appear, that he was entertained a Partner in any Houſe, or *Ragion* as they call it, where young Men are as Apprentices a while, to obſerve and learn, before they take the Poſt of acting in the Part of Buying and Selling; but he was independent, and ſtood upon his own Legs. But it's probable that, as uſual in ſuch Caſes, he was recommended to ſome Merchants upon the Spot, for Advice and Direction in difficult Matters at firſt. And, ſince I have no better Light in theſe Matters, I take them upon my Memory, as well as I can recollect from his ordinary Converſation. His Buſineſs as a Factor, beſides what came from his Maſter, was inconſiderable, perhaps a Bale or two from ſuch Merchants as he had courted in *London*, by officiouſly doing Buſineſs for them. In that Part of early Prudence, he had not been wanting to himſelf in *London*, having there officiouſly ſerved diverſe of the *Turky* Merchants occaſionally, as they thought fit to make uſe of him, and this with no View, but of their Favour in a little Employ when he went abroad; his Maſter was no deep Trader, and his Commiſſions were not great. It may ſeem ſtrange, that a young Gentleman, with ſo ſmall a Beginning as this was (ſmall, I ſay, compared with the common Allowances of Merchants in our Days, *viz.* one thouſand Pounds at binding out, and one thouſand Pounds at going abroad, or rather more, now very ordinarily beſtowed) ſhould be able even to ſubſiſt himſelf in an expenſive Factory; and how then to raiſe a great Eſtate as he did? The Anſwer is very obvious, *that, with Induſtry and Frugality, ſmall Things become great, and, without it, the largeſt Proviſions come to nothing.*

He

He did not, as moſt young Factors, ſet up himſelf in an expenſive Way of living, after the Example of thoſe that he found upon the Place; for he wore plain and cheap Clothes, and kept no Horſe, and put himſelf to Diet as cheap as he could; and, in all this reaſonable Conduct, he was forced to muſter up his Spirits in Oppoſition to thoſe who ſlighted him for it; whom he as much ſlighted by a ſteddy Perſeverance in his own Way. There wanted not thoſe who expected more of Gaiety from him, as well on Account of his Quality, as of the ordinary Example or Mode of the Factors there, altho' ſome had Occaſion for as much Thrift as himſelf. A young Man of Spirit hath enough to do to reſiſt his own Inclinations, and needs not the Importunity and Example of others, to tempt him towards looſe Exceſſes; and it is not a common Firmneſs, I may ſay Magnanimity, that can get the better of both. I have heard him ſay that, from the Time he firſt went abroad, till his Return home, he had digeſted in his Mind one Principle, which often ſwayed him; and that was, to get abroad and ſpend at home; and he thought that, if he muſt put himſelf into a Parade, it ſhould not be among *Turks*, and Strangers, among whom all he could do would not gain him any real Advantage; for, if he were a little more look'd upon there, to what good End was it? He muſt at length come away and leave all that Froth behind; but Expence at home had a laſting Influence, and was ſeaſoned with the Joy of participating with his Relations and Acquaintance; all the while cultivating a mutual Eſteem, and laſting Friendſhip amongſt them.

Lived thriftily, and why.

In this thrifty Way of Living he paſt his Time at *Smyrna* for diverſe Years, with a meagre Income, and not promiſing much Encreaſe. If ever he gratified himſelf, it was with a Diſtinction between the two grand Circumſtantials, the one is Eſtabliſhments, and the other for once (as they ſay) and no more. He ſtood not out in ordinary Complacencies, but joined in ſuch Diverſions as the reſt choſe, and uſed to ſay, *come una volta tanto*; or, as we ſay, "So much for once and away." But it was a long Time before he brought himſelf to keep an Horſe, as the reſt did; for that was an eſtabliſhed Charge. I have heard him ſay, that once before his Cavalierſhip, the Nation (as they call themſelves) preſt him very much to go a hunting with them; and ſo he did, but inſtead of an Horſe, he hired an Aſs to carry him, and rode upon that. If this was done to ſhew his Firmneſs, and how little he ſtood upon Forms, or regarded any Man's Opinion, it was very philoſophical. This Paſſage ſeems to us much more bizzarr than it was there; for, in thoſe Countries, an Aſs-cavalcade is not at all extraordinary, but very common; and all the holy men uſe it.

Kept no Horſe, and once hunted on an Aſs.

The keeping and Uſe of Dogs in *Turky*.

Having touched upon Hunting, I may beſtow a Section upon the Uſe of it in *Turky*. Firſt, Dogs are counted unclean, and are not by the *Turks* ordinarily admitted into Houſes, but run maſterleſs about the Streets; but it is accounted a Charity to relieve them; and ſome Dogs take the Road, and follow Travellers for their Waſte in eating, and do the ordinary Service of watching, and barking at all Novelty: But, for Sport, the *Turks* keep a Sort of Greyhound, which they dreſs as fine as Horſes, and clothe richly; but the Hound is not at all known or underſtood by them. The Merchants at *Aleppo* keep and uſe Greyhounds, and courſing, in the greateſt Regularity. At *Smyrna*, the Merchants procured a Pack of Hounds, and hunted in the Country after the *Engliſh* Way; which was a prodigious Myſtery to the *Turks*, who ſcarce yet believe the Dogs followed the Hare by the Smell, but think there is Witchcraft in it. Fellows at Plough have laughed, ſeeing the Dogs run one Way and the Hare another; and, finding that ſometimes the Dogs came about after her, have laid down upon the Foil, to prove whether the Dogs followed the Track or not, until they came up full Cry towards them; and then ran away, as in a very great Fright. One Incident had like to have quite ſpoiled their Sport, which was the Mange; and that infeſted their Pack to ſuch a degree, as muſt have deſtroyed it, until a certain Cure was found out, which was fluxing with *Mercury*; a Phyſic which they adminiſtered of courſe and regularly, ſcarce ever failing of its Effect to ſet Matters right again: And the Pack continues there, and is like to continue.

Character and Conduct at *Smyrna*.

He was a Gentleman ever briſk and witty, a great Obſerver of all Incidents, and withal very friendly and communicative; which made him be generally beloved, and his Company deſired by the top Merchants of the Factory. He was not a good Fellow, as it is called, and, on the other Side, not moroſe; but went along with his Company, and not ſeldom beyond the Meaſures he deſired. He was ever a Thorn in the Sides of the Fooliſh and Malicious, and wanted not Inventions to divert himſelf and others, by expoſing them. This made all chuſe to ſtand fair with him; for he was a Creature that had ſharp Claws and ſcaly Sides. A young Man, among his Equals, had need be at leaſt as well armed as the reſt; for they are not given to Moderation in making Sport with each other, but rather on the other Side, according as a Companion ſhews an unguarded Part, with Tricks and Stratagems always aiming to attack him in that Quarter. This makes the Breeding of Youth to be always beſt among Equals, and not with either Superiors or Inferiors. The former makes them abject, and the other inſolent, and both unfit for common Converſation; which, abroad in the World, is ordinarily among

among Equals. He ſaid that he never was caught in any of their Novice-Traps; of which one, alluding to Horſes in a Stable, is called tying up the Head; and this they practiſe upon young or ſhallow Traders, who deal by themſelves. If they happen to have a large Import, and all their Warehouſes are full, the old Factors, fearing the young Men ſhould be too quick, and get the Cuſtom, conſpire to diſcourſe of not ſelling but at a Price, the young Men, with good Reaſon, as they think, reſolve the ſame; and then the others underſell, and leave them without Opportunity; for their Heads were tied up from their Meat.

One *Broadgate* ſent out Chaplain.

There was one *Broadgate*, of whom more is related in the Life of this Gentleman's beſt Brother: He was ſent out by the *Turky* Company in *London*, to ſerve as Chaplain to my Lord Embaſſador and the Factory at *Conſtantinople*; and, according to the philoſophic Adage, *Omnes ſtulti inſaniunt*; *All Fools are out of their Wits*, might very reaſonably paſs for a Madman. He was a Fanatic, and a whimſical Pedant, and accounted to himſelf, that he was to go over to be Tutor to a Parcel of rude irreligious Boys, and that he ought to erect a Diſcipline, and make a Presbyterian Reform amongſt them; in order to which he had framed a Catechiſm, and had it printed, and many of the Copies ſtitched in true blue, to be preſented to the Merchants at his firſt Arrival, that they might be prepared for his future Catechiſations. Now, for the better underſtanding this Hiſtoriette, it is to be remembered, that theſe Factories carry themſelves very high; and, if their Chaplain be a venerable and prudent good Man, revere him entirely, and, calling him *Pappas*, which is the Term, in the *Levant*, given to their Prieſts, not only obſerve and honour but, preſent him very conſiderably, ſo as he cannot but live well, and grow rich; and they will take any juſt Admonition or Advice from him, if it be reſpectfully delivered; but, if he be impertinent, or what they call a *Galli-pettine*, and thinks to treat them as Boys, they deſpiſe and deride him.

Fooliſh Behaviour of *Broadgate*.

And that was the Fortune of this doughty Doctor; for he had found out, that our Merchant had a Brother, formerly of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, whom he pretended to have familiarly known there, and, upon that ſcore, faſtened upon him; and he, having a Deſire to know the Bottom of this Man's Talk concerning his Brother, wrote to him, to have an Account and Character of him; which coming, the *Pappas* was laugh'd at more than ever. He comes to the Merchant, to know what his Brother had wrote: The Merchant read the Letter audibly to him; then followed Complaints, that, by means of this Letter, he had loſt his Reputation in the Factory; and he deſired to have the Letter delivered up to him, that he might

ſue the Merchant's Brother in *England* for the Defamation. A very reaſonable Requeſt! But the Merchant, inſtead of gratifying him in that, told him, that it would do him no Service at all; for he had loſt no Reputation by it; and that he would prove to him, by ſhewing, that, before that Letter was wrote, he had none at all; and, opening his Copy-Book of Letters, read to him the Letter that he had wrote to his Brother from thence, giving his Character, with diverſe Accounts of his Behaviour there, which was of that ſort, as ſhewed him his Folly ſufficiently; and ſo, in Rage, he departed. This young Merchant was guilty of another Conceit, which was no ſmall Provocation to his Reverence: Once, in his Study, he ſaw lying upon his Desk one of his Catechiſms, and, taking his Pen, writes upon it, Broadgate's *broad Way to Bliſs, brought forth for the Breeding of the Brutes of* Smyrna. But ſuch Multitudes of Affronts heaped upon him, of which I could give diverſe Inſtances, if they were in any reſpect material, drove him from the Factory; and, afterwards, he lived very poorly upon his Trade, that is Conventicling, in *London*.

Earthquakes in the Air.

I muſt often remember, that this young Gentleman, however led by his Employment into other Trains of Thought, yet never failed, upon all Occaſions, to make philoſophic Reflections, and nicely obſerved all natural Appearances that fell in his Way. There is ſomewhat of this kind in his Correſpondence with his beſt Brother; but one thing I have heard him ſpeak of, of which there is no touch there, and that is concerning Earthquakes. *Smyrna* is very obnoxious to thoſe Impetuoſities, and therefore a fit Place to collect an Account of them. The Merchant was clearly of Opinion, that thoſe, which troubled that Place, were wholly in the Air, and not in the Earth. He was confirmed in this Opinion, by obſerving, that the Ships in the Road were equally affected as the Land; if the ſhaking of the Water had broke againſt the Sides of the Ship, it was all it could do; for the Ship would have broke the Water, before it could have contracted a Trembling ſo ſwift and ſhort. But the Air wrought upon the Ship, and not upon the Water; therefore the Water received its Trembling, as the Curlings diſcovered, from the Ship, and not that from the Water.

Experiments proving the ſame.

But, a more diſtinguiſhing Obſervation was this: He was once in a Turret, above the Tiles of the Houſe; and there, by the rattling of the Tiles of the Houſes on the one Side of him, he perceived an Earthquake coming, and took particular Notice of it: It rattled the Tiles of all the Houſes as it came along; and, where he was, it ruffled his Clothes, and rattled the Tiles there; and ſo went on in a Line progreſſively, rattling the Tiles, till he perceived it plainly gone beyond the City: And taking notice how its Courſe bore, by his Correſpon-

Correſpondences from Cities that lay in the Line of its Courſe, as near as he could judge, Accounts were had, that Earthquakes had been in thoſe Parts, as might have well been the Continuation of this. It ſeems that the Earth, being ſo maſſy and ponderous, is not ſuſceptible of a quick and tremulous Action, as we know the Air is, which, having a Spring, readily vibrates. Beſides, if the Earth moved, the Sea would not readily comply, but, next the Coaſts, gather Undulations, which would go off waſting, and, at a diſtance, come to nothing. Theſe Concuſſions in the Air being ſo plainly progreſſive, amount to a Demonſtration, that the Force, whenceſoever it comes, falls immediately upon the Body of Air, and the impulſive Compreſſions run along like Sound, according as the Vallies of the Country lead them. But, what is the Original of this tremendous Action, which overturns Cities, as *Smyrna* in particular, which hath been more than once ſo ſerved, is eaſier enquired after than reſolved: But, when the efficient Cauſe of a paltry common Whirlwind is found out, I believe the Source of theſe aerial Migrations (if I may ſo ſay of Earthquakes) will be clearly underſtood.

Of true Earthquakes and *Volcano's*.

It is obvious to conceive how another Sort of Earthquakes, or rather Caſcades of Earth, may happen by means of ſubterranean Fires: For, where there are ignivomous Caverns, if a Bag of Water (as the Miners term it) breaks in, a Mountain may be blown up by the Exploſion it makes, and that as eaſily as a Baſtion by a Gunpowder-Mine; which Glaſs-makers have found, to their Coſt and Danger, when a ſmall Quantity of Water hath accidentally fallen into their fiery Metal; for that blows away Furnace, and Houſe with it. I have heard our Merchant ſpeak of diverſe *Volcano's* (as the ignivomous Mountains are called) which he ſaw going up from *Italy*, through the *Archipelago*, towards *Smyrna*; and one in particular, which they ſaw by its ſhining in the Night: But, they ſay, it continually waſtes, and, probably, will at length cloſe up with a Diſhtop, like moſt other Pics, ſuppoſed formerly to have been *Volcano's*.

An Iſland in the *Archipelago* blown up.

He ſpoke alſo of an Iſland in the *Archipelago*, which, in an Earthquake, not long before he paſſed by, was blown up, and no more of it hath ever ſince been ſeen, than if it had never been: The Conſequence was, that the Sea was charged, and all the Coaſt of *Aſia* ſoon beached, with Pumice Stone; and of thoſe ſpongy Stones, great Quantities remained after he landed; by which one would think, that Pumice-Stones were only a Cinder of *Volcano* Fires. It was obſerved alſo that, before theſe Pumice Stones appeared, the Sea itſelf ſunk conſiderably upon the Coaſt; which ſhews, that it was no ſmall Cavity which could receive as well the whole Iſland, as

as alſo ſuch an immenſe quantity of Water. I remember, when this Gentleman was Sheriff of *London*, and uſed to attend on Horſe-back, to give Orders about Fires, and Houſes were frequently blown up with Gun-powder, he often ſaid, that the Senſe of thoſe Blaſts much reſembled that which he uſed to perceive in Earthquakes, which, more or leſs, are frequently felt in *Smyrna*.

Had the *Smyrna* Fever, and recovered.

After our Merchant was well ſettled, and at Eaſe in his Buſineſs at *Smyrna*; he came upon his Trial in order to a Seaſoning, which moſt Strangers there early or late prove; and it was what, from ſome peculiar malign Symptoms, they call a *Smyrna* Fever; it is accounted little ſhort of the Plague, and diſpatcheth away many. When he found he had the Fever, according to the Humour of moſt ſick People diſpirited, he concluded he muſt die; and, to thoſe that, to comfort him, ſuggeſted Hopes, he anſwerd, *What! a* Smyrna *Fever and live! it is impoſſible.* He lay under a great Burthen upon his Spirits, upon Account of his being ſo far from his beſt Friends and Relations, of whom he was always moſt extremely fond; but, after many Turns of better and worſe in the Diſtemper, as it pleaſed God, he recovered.

Difference with his Maſter, and ſtep into *England*.

After ſome Years of his Reſidence in *Smyrna* paſt, when he thought he had done very well for his Maſter, and given him Content, a Difference ſprung betwixt them, upon ſome Articles in his Accounts, which, altho' of no great Import or Value, were yet of the laſt Conſequence for him to have compoſed; for, if his Maſter from thence ſhould take an Umbrage to withdraw his Buſineſs from him, who had little elſe in that Place to depend upon, he muſt leave off and come away; and that was to be utterly undone. He was ſenſible that ſuch Matters, and ſo diſtant, could not well be ſettled by Letter, for Men in Diſcourſe, *tête a tête* will often agree, who will never come together by Letter; ſuch Advantage hath Diſcourſing over Writing. He conſidered all this, and reſolved to make a Step into *England*, and (as he uſed to ſay) make an Hog, or a Dog of it. But he had other Reaſons for this Reſolution, which were firſt, to make himſelf known upon the Exchange, and, by contracting Friendſhips and Acquaintance, reconcile to him other Principals, who might ſend him out again, in Caſe his Maſter perſevered in a deſperate Quarrel againſt him; and as to that, he might purge himſelf upon the Exchange, and, by referring his Difference, make his Caſe known; and that his Maſter, and not he, was in the wrong, and ſo at leaſt make good his Credit and Reputation among the *Turky* Merchants: And ſecondly, to ſee his Relations, for whom he had an infinite Reſpect, and Service, and ſhewed it in his Behaviour towards them during his whole Life. This was not the leaſt of his

Reaſons,

Reaſons, for making a Turn home, tho' but for a ſhort Enjoyment. I may add a third Reaſon, which was, that, if his Maſter dropt him, and he could not repair himſelf by new Friends upon the Exchange, he was here at Hand to buſk for ſome other Employment, as his Friends or Fortune might lift him into.

Poor Living in the *Lazaretto* with the *Jews*, &c.

I have heard him relate that, in this Voyage homeward, the Company on Board, bound for the ſame Port in *Italy*, were a poor ſort of Traders, *Jews*, *Armenians* and *Greeks*, who made Profit even of their Teeth. With theſe Fellows he was ſhut up in a *Lazaretto*, to lie a conſiderable Time before they were admitted to traffic. They ſeemed to decline his Company, muttering about his having more Money than they, who could not keep Pace with his Expences; he was loth to break Company on that Account, and told them he would live juſt as they did; ſo they kept together. Here were two Conveniences, one was having a little Converſation, and the other ſaving his Money, which could not be ſpent in a worſe Place; and in this Courſe he perſevered; but the Diet was ſuch, as he proteſted he thought, that, before he got out, he ſhould have been ſtarved. He was obliged to be Cook, Caterer, and Hunt, in his Turn, as they were, and without any manner of Help, or any Thing like a Servant; he went with them ſo near as to waſh and dry his own Linen. It was his Humour to make no Account of Pains, or Thought of Hardſhips, when his Engagements required. I have heard him ſay, that Work of itſelf was hard, and taking Care and Pains faſtidious; but if it was agreeable to do any Thing called Work, it was not really ſo, but Pleaſure; therefore it is incident to the true Notion of Work, not to delight in it.

Very doubtful of his Condition, but perſevered.

At his firſt Arrival in *England* he was very melancholy, and inclined towards deſpairing of good Succeſs in the Employ of a Merchant: He had ſuffered much and laboured hard for diverſe Years, and advanced but very little; and a Continuance of that Courſe of Life, without being better paid, he accounted a Slavery, and that he ought to make a better Penny of his Time and labour, or elſe make the beſt of a little, and enjoy himſelf at another Rate than he had hitherto done. He declared, that, if he could have valued himſelf upon two hundred Pounds a Year for his Life, he would have aſked no more of Fortune; for then he would have abandoned Buſineſs, and lived in Summer at *Venice*, and in Winter at *Florence*; and ſo reckoned he ſhould have been as happy as his Nature would admit. It is a failing young Men, for want of Experience, fall into; they create *Utopia's* in their own Imagination, and calculate according to their preſent Fancy, and think not what may, and probably would, be their Opinion ſeven Years after. They ſuppoſe the greateſt Abſurdity, *viz.* that

that they ſhall be always of the ſame Mind, which one would think a few Years would diſprove; it is a Weakneſs like that of Children, who fill their Eye rather than their Belly. There is a Satiety even of the beſt Things, much more of the meaner Sort. And as many have done to their Coſt, he would have found his new Courſe a greater Slavery than Buſineſs; and his Repentance had been ſingle, 'tis true, but continual, and laſted to the End of his Life. It was one of the chief of his good Fortunes, that he could not be gratified upon this Scheme; his Family could not afford him any Thing, and Places were not to be had without Money; ſo his Choice was not perplexed, he muſt ſtick to his Buſineſs, there was no other Means for him to live tolerably, much leſs to be rich and conſiderable; he thereupon reſolved to flounce through, and did it with great Succeſs, as the Series of this Relation will demonſtrate.

Agreed with his Maſter, tho' to his Loſs.

In the firſt Place, he reſolved to agree with his Maſter, coſt what it would; and accordingly condeſcended to his Demand, and paid him a hundred Pounds, as he affirmed, in his own Wrong. And then he courted him, and other Merchants, for Commiſſions to return with, of which he had a Competency; with that and his own little, and the Acceſſion of what he could borrow, he went out again to *Smyrna* with an handſome Inveſtment, which put him in a better Humour than he returned with.

An Excurſion at *Venice*.

I ſhould have mentioned before, that, in his Return from *Smyrna*, he ſtopt at *Venice*, and ſtaid there about a Month, in which Time he ſated himſelf with the Delights of that City; he kept his *Gondolo*, which is like a Coach in *London*, and, with that, courſed about the City, as the Way of Travellers and Strangers there is. And I make no Doubt he informed himſelf throughly of the *Courtezans*, and their Way of Living; which, in that City, is an Entertainment ſo far from being ſcandalous, that the moſt reverend of the Senators uſe it. This was one of his once-and-away Entertainments, with which he ſaid a Man might ſometimes gratify himſelf; a Perſon that is very briſk and airy, can ſcarce ſettle cloſe to Buſineſs, until he hath an Excurſion or two; and that he ſaid was, *pur cavar il Capricio*, that is to gratify the Fancy.

Returned to *Smyrna*; a Profer accepted.

After his Return and Reſettlement a while at *Smyrna*, an Opportunity profered itſelf, which tranſcended all his Hopes; he ſeiſed, held faſt, and improved it to the utmoſt Advantage, and thereby, in not many Years, obtained all that his Mind laboured to procure; which was to advance his Fortunes, ſo as he might return home warm, and there ſettle himſelf with a Family, and end his Days among his Friends and Relations. He uſed to ſay, that every Man, at one Time or other in his Life, hath the Favour of a fair Profer made him by Fortune, and no Perſon qualified to underſtand, and reſolved enough to ſeiſe ſuch

ſuch Opportunities, can wholly miſcarry in the World. The Fault is either Want of Patience to expect, Want of Senſe to know, Pride and Impertinence to refuſe, Lazineſs, or Timidity to decline them. This Incident, I am about to ſpeak of, was the great *Criſis* of our Merchant Adventurer's Fortunes; therefore I ſhall diſtinguiſh it by taking a new Riſe thereupon, in giving a farther Account of his Life.

Mr. North's *Removal from* Smyrna *to* Conſtantinople.

THere was a celebrated Houſe of Factorage in *Conſtantinople*, of which Mr. *William Hedges* was the Chief. The Buſineſs of this Houſe had been very great, but, for Want of ſkilful Accountants, and fitting Conduct, it was lapſed into utmoſt Diſorder and Confuſion, and needed better Workmen, than the preſent Managers, to recover it. Mr. *Hedges*, finding himſelf not capable for ſuch a laborious Work, was ſo wiſe to pitch upon our Merchant at *Smyrna*, and accordingly invited him up to *Conſtantinople*, and to take a Part in their *Ragion*, or Houſe. There were but two upon the Place, Mr. *Hedges*, and one Mr. *Palmer*, as I remember his Name was. Theſe two had great Intereſt, and large Commiſſions from *England*, but our Merchant very little, compared with theirs; ſo, in that Reſpect, he gained enough by the Change. But, that which ſwayed him moſt, was the Advantage to be made by Trade in that great City, and with the Court, and with the Dealers that came together, and reſided for the Sake of Trade there, from moſt Parts of the World; there not being a greater *Emporium* upon the Face of the Earth than *Conſtantinople*, the Seat of a vaſt Empire, and where a Merchant of Spirit and Judgment cannot fail of being rich.

Removed to a *Ragion* at *Conſtantinople*.

When he came up, he found the Factory in great Diſorder. The Eſtates of the Principals, as well as of the Houſe, truſted out in a looſe Way, and the Accounts unſkilfully kept; whereby, as the Nature of ſuch Buſineſs is, they had been carried on into Multiplicity of Errors upon Errors; ſo that no one Man's Accounts in the Books ſtood true; nor was there any direct Means to charge the Debtors, or good Grounds to go to Law upon; and this, not in a few but, in numerous Inſtances of very great Import, and which concerned the Merchants at *London* as well as themſelves. The Gentlemen of the Houſe were in a Miz-maze, and knew not how to take one Step towards extricating themſelves, and their Buſineſs, and, in a Word, they were at their Wits End; for, without a ſpeedy Rectification of this Diſorder, the Reputation of the Houſe, as well as their own, and the principals Eſtates had gone to wreck. Good Fortune was *ambidexter* here;

The Factory at *Conſtantinople* out of Order, and hard to reduce.

for, as nothing could have fallen out more exquiſitely adapt to Mr. *North's* Deſires, ſo, on the other Side, no Perſon in the World could have been found out and choſen more fitly qualified for the Occaſion, than he was; and in this Reſpect, I may venture to ſtyle him a *Phœnix*, and depend upon what follows for a Demonſtration of it.

Took upon him the Conduct of the Factory.

At his firſt Arrival, he applied himſelf to the Buſineſs of the Houſe, and wrought very hard to make himſelf Maſter of it. And, altho' Mr. *Hedges* was Head of the *Ragion*, yet Mr. *North* fell into the whole Direction, and Management; and the other finding him, as he expected, intelligent, induſtrious, and ſucceſsful, had the Diſcretion to let him alone, and interpoſed not to give him any Diſturbance at all; which is more than can be ſaid of the other Partner after he was gone; but of that in due Place. There were diverſe Perſons of good Value, as the *Dragomen*, *Eſcrivaines*, *&c.* who had Dependance on the Houſe, and admired that Mr. *Hedges* ſhould quit the Helm all at once to this new Partner. Of theſe ſome, for Friendſhip to him, but more out of Petulance, inſinuated their Sentiments, ſo as might have created Uneaſineſs, or Difference betwixt them; as for Inſtance, Whether it was for his Honour to ſubmit all his Concerns in that Manner? And once, one urging him upon the Point a little cloſer, he only nodded towards Mr. *North*, and ſaid *Ecc' il Padron*, or *There's your Maſter*. After that, finding who was Maſter indeed, they behaved themſelves with entire Reſpect towards him.

Began the Accounts *de Novo*, being qualified.

As to the Buſineſs itſelf, firſt the Accounts were to be regulated, which was an immenſe Work, and not to be done, but by beginning a new Set of Books, and making new Entries of all the open Accounts, ſo as they might be underſtood and ſtand true, the old ones ſerving only as waſte, whereout to pick the *Items* of the Tranſactions, as they had been done. Merchants are infinitely curious in the Fairneſs, Regularity, and Juſtice of their Books, which they eſteem as authentic Regiſters concerning, not only themſelves but, all other Perſons that they have had Dealings with, or may derive Intereſts thereupon; and to ſuch Books Appeals are commonly made; for they are, or ought to be, the Truth, whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth of all that is done, and diſpoſed in a Method, *viz.* by Waſte, Journal, and Ledger, the moſt exquiſite for Repertory and Uſe, that the Wit of Man, with utmoſt Application, hath been able to frame. Theſe, and other Virtues of regular Book-keeping, are well known to thoſe who underſtand the Practice of it; ſo no more need be ſaid here of it. It is enough to affirm, that our Merchant was completely qualified for this Branch; ſince there was not a more dextrous and exact Accountant, as to the Uſe of Merchandiſe and Traffick, than he was; and his Maſtery, in this reſpect, was demonſtrated

ſtrated in *England*, when he was poſted at the Head of greater Affairs than common Merchandiſe; as after will be made appear.

The next *Herculean* Labour was to ſtate, and recover the Debts of the *Ragion*, which muſt be done, and the Dependances determined by fair Means, or foul; and then they muſt reſt contented, and ſit down by Loſſes that are unavoidable. The Merchants have a Proverb, "Better a Loſs at Sea, than a bad Debt at Land." The former has no worſe Conſequence than itſelf, but the other draws Loſs of Time and Pains, which might be employed to more Profit. His Rule therefore was, if he could not get in all that was due from the Debtor, he got by Compoſition, Barter, or other Means, as much as he could, and ſo cloſed the Account. Theſe Debts lay much among the *Jews*, and trading *Turks*, the Scum of human kind; and often without any good Evidence to charge them; whereby, if they had known their Advantages, near all had been loſt. But Conſciouſneſs hath this good Effect; a Man is apt to ſuſpect, that what he knows to be true, is alſo as well known by his Adverſary, and that what is really done, may be proved. Therefore, when our Merchant charged theſe Debtors home, and with a Viſage of the greateſt Aſſurance, they very often owned the Debt, paid Part, and took Time for the reſt; when, in Truth, the Merchant could not, at Law, have charged a Scruple upon them; and when fair Means, ſuch as in this and other Manners he uſed, would not do, he applied to the *Turkiſh* Juſtice, before whom, diverſe owned the Debt, which, elſewhere, they had denied; and ſo, one Way or other, he made Concluſions of his Dependances. This Trade laſted many Years, and obliged him to ſpend moſt of his Time in hurrying about the City of *Conſtantinople*, for finding out, and ſpeaking with People; which, in an hot Country, cloſe and populous City, almoſt wore him down, and often at Night, when he came home, till ſome kind Refreſhment brought him to Conſiſtence, he was ſcarce alive.

The immenſe Pains of getting in of Debts.

As to the Law Part of his Buſineſs, it was ſo much, as in the End, gave him a competent Skill in the Rules and Methods of the *Turkiſh* Juſtice; whereby, in common Incidents, he could adviſe himſelf, and aſſiſt his Friends. This Skill (if I may make the Compariſon) was ſuch as we may obſerve underſtanding Citiſens of *London* to have in the Common Law of *England*, by which they are enabled to deal upon ſecure Terms; but how far that differs from the Skill of a profeſſed Lawyer, I need not declare. I have heard our Merchant ſay, that he had tried, in the *Turkiſh* Courts, above five hundred Cauſes; and, for the moſt Part, uſed no *Dragomen*, or Interpreters, as Foreigners commonly do, but, in the Language of the Country, ſpoke for himſelf. He obſerved, that many fair Cauſes were loſt by the In-

Had managed above five hundred Lawſuits.

diſcretion of the *Dragomen*, who neither took nor delivered the Matters juſtly, as he himſelf, uſing his own Notions, and Expreſſions, could do.

Acquired the *Turkiſh* Speech and Writing.

For theſe, and other Purpoſes of his Negotiation, he had laboured to gain, and had thereby acquired, a ready Uſe of the *Turkiſh* Language, and could ſpeak it fluently. I have heard him ſay that, for Scolding and Railing, it was more apt than any other Language; and he had uſed it ſo much that Way, that afterwards, when he was in *England*, and much provoked, his Tongue would run into *Turkiſh* of itſelf; as if to ſuch Purpoſes it were his Mother Speech. He told us, he once compoſed a *Turkiſh* Dictionary, and ſhewed the ordinary Idiotiſms, and Analogies of that Language. As for Inſtance, varying the Caſe, Mood or Tenſe, not as we by Terminations but, by Syllables in the Middle of a Word; as *Mahmet*, *Mahummet*. This ſeems as old *Abram*, and *Abraham*; and the Words he collected were diſpoſed Alphabetically; and he wiſh'd he had taken more Care to preſerve it; for it was pyrated out of his Houſe, and he could never find who had it; perhaps it may be now in *England*, in the Hands of Dr. *Covell*. He not only ſpoke, but wrote *Turkiſh* very well, and did it after the *Levant* Manner, reſting the Paper on his left Hand, and beginning from the Right. There is great Reaſon for their writing that Way, as for ours contrarily. If we ſhould hold the Paper upon the Left, and lean towards the Right, the Action would carry forwards the Paper, and there would be nothing to ſtop it; but they, from the Right, bear the Paper againſt the Ball, or riſing of the Hand, which ſtops it firm againſt the going of the Pen. Upon Deſks either Way is practicable; but with this Difference, that, from the Right, the Pen is apt to ſhade the Writing, but, from the Left, all is open to view; and the *Turks*, to help this Inconvenience a little, ſeldom write ſquare, but beginning high, draw down their Lines a little croſs the Paper, and in ſo doing, affect a ſtrange, but not uncomely, Irregularity. The Nation maintained a *Turkiſh Effendi*, or Prieſt, at a Salary, who was to attend every Day for the Purpoſe of *Turkiſh* Writing, eſpecially Letters, which muſt be done with a formal Addreſs, according to the Quality, and Condition of the Perſons wrote to. This was a grave old Man, who was a Doctor in Addreſſes and forms of concluding; but as to Buſineſs, our Merchant commonly took the Wording of it to himſelf, not truſting, and often overruling, the *Effendi*; with whoſe Expreſſions, in mercantile Affairs, he was ſeldom ſatisfied.

Had Friendſhip with, and Counſel from a *Cadi*.

As to Matters of the Law, he had certain Schemes by which he governed himſelf, and ſeldom failed of a proſperous Succeſs. One was to make and cultivate an Intereſt or Friendſhip with ſome grave and

and reaſonable *Cadi*, or Perſon learned in the Laws, and keep him in good Humour, by frequent, though ſmall, Preſents; much ſhort of what the Feeing of a ſingle Counſel in *England* would amount to. And, in all his doubtful Matters, he reſorted to his learned Friend for Advice, which he faithfully gave him; and as he encouraged, or not, ſo the Merchant ruled himſelf, and found great Benefit and Security thereby. He was very fortunate in this Practice; for a certain grave *Cadi*, who was a knowing, faithful, and humane Perſon, fell to his Share. Once a green-head *Turk*, (one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred ſo diſtinguiſhed) made him a Propoſition, with Terms of vaſt Profit; but, ſuſpecting his Reverence might have ſome Trick in Reſerve, he repaired to his learned Counſel, who, being made ſenſible of the Matter, clapped his Hand on his own great Turbant, *Merchant, Merchant*, ſaid he, *deal not with theſe Green-heads of ours, for there is none of them ſo empty, but will afford Wit enough to cheat you.* There needed no more; the Merchant made his Obeiſance, and retired clearly ſatisfied with his Deliverance, and, for the Future, reſolved to deal with the Devil as ſoon as with a Green-head.

The Trade of the Judges in *Turky*.

Another of his Schemes (not a little the Practice of moſt *Franks* reſiding in *Turky)* was, before a Trial, to ſhew the Judge a Reſpect by making him a ſmall Preſent, and then to make his Cauſe known to him, before he brought it on. The Judge ordinarily takes this in better Part, than a great Preſent, and nothing of the Cauſe ſaid along with it; for that implied that the Cauſe was bad, and that he was to be corrupted. If the Suitors, or the Cauſe, be conſiderable, and no Preſent at all is given, the Judge looks upon himſelf to be ſlighted, or rather defrauded; for he accounts ſomething is due to him for doing Juſtice, not much unlike what is here termed Fees, only without State or Rule as the *European* Way is; and ſuch Omiſſion is not wholeſome, even for a good Cauſe. Their Law hath ſo many Turns and Subtilties, that a Judge, if he will uſe an artful Conduct, may find plauſible Colours to ſuſtain or baffle almoſt any Cauſe; as may be done even amongſt us; for, if a Judge will take a Liberty to preſume on the one Side, and hold the other to a ſtrict Proof, the Cauſe goes which Way he pleaſeth. The Judges in *Turky* will not ordinarily do flat Injuſtice for any Preſent; and if neither Side ſlights them, how unequal ſoever the Preſents are, they will determine according to Right. But this argues not that all are ſuch, but many are corrupt Judges, that direct their Decrees to the faireſt Chapman; and it were well if there were none ſuch any where elſe. Here we mean of the Community neither rigidly preciſe, as ſome are, nor deſperately wicked in their Way, as others may be; and as he alledged, in Oppoſition to thoſe who think that all Things

are

are arbitrary and corrupt there, as if ſo mighty an Empire could ſtand upon thoſe Terms. Allowance ought to be made for the various Sentiments, remote Nations have of the ſame Methods. Here with us, a Preſent to a Judge of a Cauſe depending, tho' ſilently, made by one of the Parties, is unlawful, and accounted no better than a Bribe; there, it is, not only lawful but, expected as a kind of Duty to the Judge. Here, for a Party to offer at inſtructing the Judge in private, is intolerable, and the Judge, that endures it, profeſſedly partial. There, it is the beſt Way for a Suitor to go to the Judge, and make known his Caſe, by which the Judge eſteems himſelf much better able to judge rightly, when it comes judicially before him. There is no Sight in the Compariſon, whether their Methods or ours are beſt; the Sequel may perhaps ſhew ſomewhat tending to a Deciſion; and, in the mean Time, let it be remembered that there are no Proceſſes, Arreſts, Bailiffs, Bails, Spungings, Dilatories, Errors or Appeals, as I ſhall more particularly obſerve afterwards.

The Uſe of falſe Witneſſes.

Another Scheme of our Merchant's Law-conduct was touching Proofs. The *Turkiſh* Law rigidly holds every Perſon to prove all the Facts of his Caſe by two *Turkiſh* Witneſſes, which makes the Dealing, with a View of a Diſpute, extremely Difficult; for which Reaſon the Merchants uſually take Writing: But that hath its Infirmity alſo; for the Witneſſes are required to prove, not only the Writing, which with us is enough, but they muſt prove every Fact contained in it to be true, or elſe the Evidence is inſufficient. It fell out ſometimes that, when he had a righteous Cauſe, the Adverſary was knaviſh, and would not own the Fact; and he had not regular and true Witneſſes to prove it; he made no Scruple, in ſuch Caſe, to uſe falſe ones; and certain *Turks*, that had belonged to the Factory, and knew the Integrity of their Dealing, would little ſcruple to atteſt Facts, to which they were not privy, and were paid for it. I have heard the Merchant ſay he had known that, at Trials, *Turks*, ſtanding by unconcerned, have ſtept forwards to help at a dead Lift (as they tell of a famous witneſſing Attorney, who uſed to ſay at his Trial, *Doth it ſtick? Give me the Book*) and theſe expect to be paid; and the Merchants fail not to ſend them the *Premio*; elſe they may cauſe great Inconveniences. Nay, a Merchant there will directly hire a *Turk* to ſwear the Fact, of which he knows nothing; which the *Turk* doth out of Faith he hath in the Merchant's Veracity; and the Merchant is very ſafe in it, for, without two *Turks* to teſtify, he cannot be accuſed of the Subornation. This is not, as here, accounted a villanous Subornation, but an Eaſe under an Oppreſſion, and a lawful Means of coming into a juſt Right. The *Chriſtian* Oath is not in the Caſe, ſo there is no Profanation; and (upon the whole) the Morality

Morality of the Action ſeems to depend on the pure Juſtice and Right, and not upon the Regularity (in a Chriſtian Senſe) of the Means. The *Turks* in their Country are obliged, as we are here, by the Rules of common Juſtice. But it is to be ſuppoſed that, being here, they would not regard our Forms, but would get their Right, if they might, by infringing them all. So we, in that Country, are obliged, in common Honeſty, to obſerve even their Law of Right and Equity; but have no Reaſon to regard their Forms; and the compaſſing a Right by any means, contrary to them all, is not unreaſonable. But, to apprehend theſe Diverſities, one muſt have a ſtrong Power of Thought to abſtract the Prejudices of our domeſtic Education, and plant ourſelves in a way of negotiating in heathen remote Countries.

A falſe Witneſs better than a true one.

Our Merchant found by Experience that, in a direct Fact, a falſe Witneſs was a ſurer Card than a true one; for, if the Judge has a mind to baffle a Teſtimony, an harmleſs honeſt Witneſs, that doth not know his Play, cannot ſo well ſtand his many captious Queſtions, as a falſe Witneſs, uſed to the Trade, will do; for he hath been exerciſed, and is prepared for ſuch handling, and can clear himſelf, when the other will be confounded; therefore, if there be true Witneſs, Circumſtances may be ſuch as ſhall make the falſe ones more eligible.

The *French* Church built with Help of a contingent Witneſs.

Our Merchant told us, that the *French* had a mind to rebuild their old Church, which had lain long in Ruins, and to make it larger than formerly it had been: But that could not be done; for the *Turkiſh* Law prohibits it; and they were forced to go before the Judge, and obtain an *Odgett*, or judicial Declaration, what were the Dimenſions of the old Church, before they could attempt to build the new one. They hoped to prevail with the Judge to allow their intended Enlargement; but he required Witneſs that it was ſo before; and they tried and tried, but could not make the Proof to his Satisfaction. At length a grave *Turk*, with a long Beard, came in of his own accord, and, ſaluting the Judge, asked what the Buſineſs was, which being told him, he ſtroked his Beard, and, by Tide and by Token, made a better Witneſs than they ever expected to find or procure; which was a greater Surpriſe, becauſe, by his grave Entry, they, knowing his Character, feared he came to teſtify againſt them. Upon this, the *Odgett* paſſed, and the Building went on; and the willing Judge was very well ſatisfied. But the *French* had Advice given them to ſend this old Man his Fee, or elſe he would have found out a Way to have ſpoiled all again.

Debts required in the next World.

Notwithſtanding all our induſtrious Merchant's Endeavours, many of his Suits failed; but he had, not only thoſe but, diverſe other Croſſes,

Croſſes, ſuch as will happen in a Multiplicity of Dealing, out of which he had learnt a moſt uſeful Principle of Life; which was, *to lay nothing to Heart, which he could not help*; and, how great ſoever Diſappointments had fell out (if poſſible) to think of them no more, but to work on upon other Affairs, and, if not all, ſome would be better natured. I have known, when the rebellious Spirit hath riſen, he hath conjured it down, by ſaying in great Zeal, *The Pope hath not his Will, the King of* France *hath not his Will, the King of* England *hath not his Will, the Devil hath not his Will, and by G—— I will not have my Will.* I have heard him ſay, that when, for want of Proof, he loſt a juſt Cauſe, he hath ſaid to the Adverſary, *Well, you have thought fit to deny my Debt before the Judge, knowing I had truſted you without Witneſs, and ſo think to cheat me; but, depend upon't, I will exact the utmoſt Farthing from you in the next World, where all Truths will be known.* And ſome Men, upon ſuch Menace, have come and paid the Debt, to be acquitted in the next World; for the *Turkiſh* Religion teacheth that, in the next World, all juſt Debts and Demands will be rigorouſly required to be paid, and performed, with ſtrange Severities to fall upon them that, in the former World, refuſed to be juſt.

Once helped a Judge through a difficult Cauſe.

Our Merchant had once a great Honour done him by the *Cadi* of *Conſtantinople*. There was a very intricate Cauſe, at Trial before him, between two *Armenian*, or *Greek*, Merchants; both Sides had good Colours, and a great Noiſe and Clamour was made, and the Judge could not, to his Satisfaction, unravel the Matter. Our Merchant had been once a ſort of Arbitrator betwixt them, and attended to hear how the Cauſe went. Both Parties talked much of Signor *North*, that he knew this and that to be true, and that he, having examined all Circumſtances, knew that the one and the other (for both claimed him) had Right. The *Cadi* asked where this Signor *North*, they ſo much talked of, was; and one, ſpying him in the Court, ſaid, *There he is.* The *Cadi* called him out, and required him to ſpeak all his Knowledge of that Buſineſs. He thereupon, in the *Turkiſh* Language, made a large and limpid Deduction of the whole Cauſe, and concluded, that, in Strictneſs, the Law might be for one Party, but he thought the Equity lay on the other Side. Neither Side controverted any thing that he had related, but admitted the Fact and Circumſtances to be ſo. Whereupon the Judge, without more ado, decreed for the Equity; and ſo the Cauſe ended.

Once accuſed before a *Cadi*, but not hurt.

Once he was put in a terrible Fright before that *Cadi*: A perverſe impudent Knave of a *Turk* made a falſe Demand againſt him, but prevailed not; and then, like an able Counſel for himſelf, fell to railing and perſonal Reflections: He told the *Cadi*, that Man was an inſolent

inſolent Unbeliever, and had been for diverſe Years an Oppreſſor, and had made miſerable many of the Grand Signor's Subjects, with a World of opprobrious Terms, as might have given the *Cadi* handle enough, had he been ſo inclined, to have done him ſome Miſchief. The Merchant ſtood ſtill, and replied not one Word; and ſtill the *Turk* went on: At laſt the *Cadi* looked ſour, and, raiſing himſelf up, fell foul upon the *Turk* for blaſpheming the Grand Signor's righteous Government, by pretending, that ſuch a Monſter of Iniquity ſhould live, and breath in his Dominions; and, *chick*, ſaid he, that is, *run away*, or he would make him an Example. This was a comfortable Deliverance to the Merchant, who knew how apt the *Turks* are to take ſmall Occaſion to ſqueeze out great Sums of Money from Strangers, that come in their Way.

The Nature and Virtues of the *Turkiſh* Law.

Having ſaid thus much of our Merchant's Dealings in the Law, it may not be amiſs to add what I have heard him ſay concerning the Law itſelf. Firſt, it is remarkable, that the Religion of the People, and the Law and Juſtice of the Country, are one and the ſame, and lean wholly upon their *Alcoran:* For, in all emergent Cauſes of Civil Right, what the Doctors of the Law have declared, or the immediate Judge ſhall ſay is the Senſe of the *Alcoran* touching that Matter, is the Law final and incontrovertible: And the *Mufti*, who is Head of the Religion, is alſo Head of the Law; for which Cauſe the People often apply to him, to know the Law in certain Points they propoſe to him, which he declares in a ſhort Writing given out, which they call a *Fetfa*. As for inſtance, *If one Man may be puniſhed for another's Fault?* And his *Fetfa* will be, *That he ſhall not.* And in like manner, upon ſuch general Queſtions as Suitors at Law think may be of uſe to them in their Cauſes; and, accordingly, they exhibit them before the Judge, who hath a due Regard to them. The Virtue of this Inſtitution is, that the Law of the Country, whatever it is taken to be, is unalterable by any human Power. There are no new Edicts, or Statutes for changing the Law in any reſpect, either to be made or repealed; but every Perſon, even the Government itſelf, and all its Miniſters, muſt ſtand to the Law, whatever the Quality is, the Grand Signor's Perſon (perhaps) only excepted: For, in the whole Empire, of right there is neither Prerogative nor Privilege; the leaſt Perſon may take the greateſt *Baſha* below the Girdle (for above is an Aſſault) and ſay, *Come to the noble Law*; and if he refuſeth, he is in great Danger of being ill uſed by the People, who have an extreme Veneration for the Law, and will compel every Man, that is required, to go before a Judge.

The *Turkiſh* Law in ſome ſort as the common Law.

This Law of theirs, by ſubtile Commentations, and wild Inferences expreſſed out of the *Alcoran*, is a very intricate and volumi-

nous Learning; and they have Colleges where Students are taught and trained up in it, as we have for Divinity and Law; and, when thoſe Students are grown up to be Profeſſors, they are ſent about to be *Cadi's* in Cities all over the Empire: But, paying for their Places, by neceſſary Conſequence are more or leſs rapacious, and extorting of Money. As to the Skill itſelf, it ſeems to have a great Analogy with our Common Law; for that, the learned ſay, is Cuſtom immemorial: But how is that to be known? It is anſwered, by the Declarations of the Judges. How then in a Caſe perfectly new? It is anſwered, by Argument from natural Equity, Parity of Reaſon with reſpect to Caſes nearly parallel, and Opinions ſcattered in the Law-Books; and, after all, the Judges do but declare what they take to be Cuſtom immemorial. The *Alcoran* hath few or no expreſs Caſes, or Rules, ſuch as, being plain and direct, deſerve to be termed Laws; but a World of Jargon, and Rhapſody of Words, which may be wreſted to every one's Fancy; and that Senſe, which the Learned in former Times have taken, is the Senſe of the *Alcoran*, and, conſequently, the Law. To bring this to a Syſtem applicable to the promiſcuous Dealings of Men, the Doctors have tormented the poor Text, and their Succeſſors have tormented their Works, by Interpretations, and Comments: And, when new Caſes happen, which neither Text nor Comment comes up to, yet the Judge determines according to the Law of *Mahomet*; and that is the Senſe of the *Alcoran*, as with us it is ancient Cuſtom, though nothing of either is to be found reſpectively to ſquare with it. But the numerous and perpetual Controverſies, and Law-Suits, wherein the Sentences of the Judges have been commonly obſerved, and known, have eſtabliſhed a Body of Law, by which Men are inſtructed to deal ſecurely one with another; and, as I ſaid, it is become, not unlike ours, a ſort of Common Law.

No Proceſs in *Turky*, but Summons by the Party.

Another ſovereign Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Law is, that every Man is his own Bailiff and Summoner, without the Plague of Proceſs, Returns, *Alias*, *Pluries*, and I know not what Hooks and Crooks, that often beggar a Suitor, before he can bring his Adverſary to anſwer him. But a Man, as was ſaid, requiring the Adverſary to go before the Judge, he muſt, without Shift or Delay, go; and, if he offers to eſcape, a thing ſcarce known there, he muſt run quite away; for the very People will almoſt deſtroy him, if they catch him. Here is no ſuing out a Writ, going to the Sheriff, from him to the Bailiff, with a farther Train of ill Conſequences I am aſhamed to remember. And it is a prodigious Wonder that, in a civiliſed Country, pretending to Liberty and Laws, Men ſhould ſo little conſider, that all the Court Proceſs of Law had its Original in Conqueſt, and the conſequent

ſequent Tyranny of the Conqueror, who made himſelf the Vender of common Juſtice; and the Trade is ſtill kept a-foot by corrupt Intereſts; and after all that they ſhould idoliſe this Dreg of Slavery, and blindly ſupport a direct Oppreſſion of themſelves, as if it were really an happy Oeconomy of Juſtice and Liberty.

Anſwers in Perſon, and no Dilatories, Attornies, nor Counſel.

Another Virtue, and a ſingular one, is that no Man anſwers by Attorney, but in proper Perſon only. The Courſe is, when the Parties come before the Judge, the Plaintiff makes his Demand, for money lent, the Price of Goods ſold, or the like. The Judge ſits all the while with his Paper upon his Hand, and writes his Minutes. *What ſay you to it?* ſays he, to the other; and then he makes his Defence. If there be a Writing ſhewed, the Defendant fails not to own it; there are no *Non eſt factums*, for pure Delay, to be tried. It is there infamous in the greateſt Degree, for a Man to deny his Writing, when ſhewed to him before a Judge, or indeed any matter of Fact that is true, after it appears to have been ſo to his Knowledge. What a vaſt Retrenchment of Delay, and Charge is this? Men, anſwering in Perſon, can ſcarce be brought to ſpeak falſe; they muſt be ſtrangely abandoned to all Shame, that, in the Face of a Court, without Stammering or Bluſhing, will do ſo. Whereas, when they ſit at home, and leave their Attornies and Counſel to plead for them, there ſhall be falſe Pleas, for Delay profeſſedly, and no Concern at all to their Countenances.

No contrary Witneſs to the ſame Fact.

The *Turkiſh* Law ſeems to have another Virtue, which lies in the Method of Proof. After the Judge hath heard the Demand, and the Anſwer; he conſiders on which Side the Proof lies. If the Dealing be denied, as by the Defendant's ſaying, he bought no Goods of the Plaintiff, or the like, the Judge bids the Demander prove it. And if Witneſſes are not ready, he gives a few Days to bring them, becauſe he might expect the other Party would have owned the Dealing; but if he ſaid, *It's true, I bought the Goods, but I paid him for them*; then the Judge bids the Defendant prove. But he will never let Witneſs come to ſwear on both Sides to one and the ſame Fact, for that is to make ſure of a Perjury; ſo, in a *Turkiſh* Court, Witneſſes never confront, and, upon Oath, contradict one another. But being once taken as Witneſſes, the Cauſe is at an End, the Demand is made and proved, *What would you have more?* But yet, if the Witneſſes are not credible, that Exception is allowed, and Witneſſes heard to prove it, and the Judge determines thereupon, whether he ſhall believe the Witneſſes, or not, and accordingly judges of the Main.

No contrariety of Judgments and Decrees.

Another admirable Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Law is, that Decrees or Deciſions never fight one with another, and yet the Party hath the

Benefit of an Appeal. They call their Decree an *Odgett*, which is a ſmall Scrip, or Ticket, which the Judge writes upon his Hand, and gives out to the Party that hath obtained Sentence. After this *Odgett* made and ſigned, and given out, no Judicature, or Authority in the Empire, can queſtion, or diſcharge, the Matter, or the Effect of it; not the great *Divan*, altho' the *Odgett* were made by the meaneſt Judge in the Empire. This ſeems to reſemble the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, when a Decree might not be revoked. It is certain that, in *Turky*, there cannot be more than one *Odgett*, or Decree, in one and the ſame Cauſe. A *Turkiſh* Judge would laugh if he were told of our Judgments, Writs of Error, and Error upon Error, Appeals, Reviews, *&c.* with full and entire Sentence of the Cauſe pronounced in all, and the latter giving the former ill Language, and looking as if a Judgment in a Cauſe were but a Foundation, whereupon to commence a new Suit, to the incomprehenſible Delay, and Expence, wherewith the Parties, their Heirs and Aſſigns, are tormented. But it will be ſaid, How then can the Parties have an Appeal? As to that, if either Side thinks the Judge unſkilful, or partial, at any Time before *Odgett* made, he may appeal to a ſuperior Judge; and then the Cauſe is as if it had not been heard, but the Parties go before the Judge by Appeal, as if the Cauſe originally came before him, and then he makes the *Odgett*; but whoever makes it, the *Odgett* is irreverſible.

All Equities are judged in the Cauſe.

A farther Virtue of the *Turkiſh* Law is this; All Equity is comprehended in it. Men, there, are bound by their Contracts, as well as here; but, if a Contract prove very unequal, the Judge takes Notice of the Reaſonableneſs, and gives Relief. As, if a Man takes an Houſe to build at half the true Value; when the Work is done, he may ſue in a *Quantum meruit* for the whole, and it is enough to ſay, I thought I might have done it for the Price, but was miſtaken. This goes farther than our Courts of Equity; for they do not relieve againſt any hard Bargains, without Fraud or Circumvention proved. It hath been ſaid, they do not ſit there to relieve Fools; but, if we conſider well, it will be found that all Perſons, circumvented by Fraud, are ſo far within that Denomination. But granting full Relief may be had, what doth it coſt to come at it? In this Reſpect the *Turkiſh* Law is ſimple; for it not only diſallows all over-reaching Bargains, but the Judgment of them falls proper in one and the ſame Suit, which Party ſoever promotes it. And even here, very good Patriots have declared it fit, that the Court, having Juriſdiction of the Cauſe in Point of Law, ſhould alſo judge of the Equity emergent thereupon; but the preſent Conſtitution doth not allow it. The *Civilians* reproach the common Law, ſaying it wants Equity, and needs a particular Judicature

Judicature to ſupply it. But I think theirs worſe; for they have no Mitigations, and all is *Summum jus.* And then they contradict themſelves, ſaying *Apices juris non ſunt jura*, and more groſsly leap over their Law, judging as they ſay, *Ex Authoritate*, againſt Law, which, in their Language, is *Nobile Officium Judicis.* But the *Turkiſh* Law ſeems, in theſe Reſpects, to be moſt conſiſtent, and complete.

Exquiſite Diſpatch.

One Thing more I will venture to alledge in Favour of the *Turkiſh* Law, which is of admirable Uſe, and that is their Diſpatch. A Cauſe ſeldom laſts a Week; and very often is opened and determined in a Day; and there is ſcarce any Means to prolong it, but demanding Time to produce Teſtimony to Facts, about which the Parties happen to differ, and their alledging and anſwering for themſelves orally before the Judge keeps down Differences of Facts. For the Pride, or Shame of the Parties, as well as Integrity, will make them ſave proving, and, for the moſt Part, own what they know to be true; and ſo bring the Matter in Judgment upon the right Point. I have heard much of aiding public Credit or Truſt among Men; but believe it is not to be had without contriving ſome Methods of Law and Juſtice that may entirely ſatisfy them.

Objection, of right Miſcarrying by Haſte, anſwered.

It may be objected here, that this Proceeding is precipitous, and (Corruption apart) for Want of Advice and Deliberation of the Parties, as well as on the Part of the Judge, Wrong may be done; and Juſtice is a ſacred Thing, and ought to have the greateſt Regard. It is granted, that Juſtice is a rare Thing, if it may be had; but if it is to be gained by ſailing thro' a Sea of Delays, Repetitions, and Charges, really it may be as good a Bargain to ſtay at home a Loſer. A wrong Determination, expedite, is better than a right one, after ten Years Vexation, Charge, and Delay. A good Cauſe, immediately loſt, is, in ſome Reſpects, gained; for the Party hath his Time, and Tranquillity of Mind reſerved to himſelf, to uſe as he pleaſeth; which is a rare Thing in the Opinion of thoſe who have felt the Want of both, and of their Money to boot. The Reaſon, why Juſtice is ſo ſacred, is not becauſe the Cauſe of Suit, or Thing claimed, in itſelf, is of any great Regard, (for that Argument will bring all Things to a levelling, as why ſhould one Man have too much, and another want?) but becauſe it preſerves Peace and Quietneſs among Men, which is the greateſt of all temporal good Things. And conſequently wrong Judgments ſoon, and final, have the Virtue of Juſtice, becauſe Peace and Quietneſs is thereby preſerved. But Delays have an Effect directly to the contrary; for thoſe maintain Feuds, and hatred, as well as Loſs of Time and Money; ſo that, if it be ſaid that, in the End, Juſtice is ſecured thereby (which I do not grant) I anſwer it is done by unjuſt Means, and comes to the

ſame,

ſame. But *is it not a ſad Thing*, ſay ſome, *for a Man to be hurried out of his Right?* I anſwer, *Is it not a ſad Thing a Man ſhould have a Fever?* As the Body, ſo the Eſtate, muſt be obnoxious to Infirmities; there is no Perfection in either State; and that is always beſt which is ſhorteſt, and hath the leaſt Anguiſh or Pain.

The Rigour of the criminal Juſtice keeps down Offences.

I ſhall alledge but one Inſtance farther, where I think the *Turkiſh* Law is remarkably diſtinguiſhed, and is on the Criminal Side. If a Man comes to the Judge, and with Clamour, as the Way is, complains that he is robbed of his Goods; the *Cadi* will aſk him, *By whom? and where is the Thief?* And if he ſays he does not know (perhaps) puniſh him as a Fourb, that pretends to be robbed, to cheat his Creditors. *What*, ſays he, *doth not the Grand Signor protect his Subjects? If you are robbed, find the Thief, and Right ſhall be done; if you want Help, take an Officer, but do not accuſe the Grand Signor's righteous Government.* Now, to add here a Word or two of their criminal Juſtice, I ſhall obſerve, that it is executed with ſuch Rigour, as keeps down Offences ſo effectually that, in that great City of *Conſtantinople*, there are not ſo many Men executed for Thievery in ſome Years, as in one, nay, I may ſay, in one Seſſions at *London*. If a Thief is caught, they make more Account of him by diſcovering others, than by the Example of his Puniſhment. And they handle him at ſuch a rate, that he cannot but diſcover all he knows. He ſhall ſometimes be ſecretly chained to an Officer, and ſo go about the City, and whom he points to, is taken up. The firſt Thing done, is to ſee that he makes full amends to the Perſon robbed; and when that Perſon declares he is ſatisfied, he is ſent away with a Menace, that he concern not himſelf for Favour to that Man. And after all, what hath this poor Thief to reward him for all his Ingenuity, and Service to the Public by diſcovering? Nothing but to die without Torment; for if the Judge be diſſatisfied of his Behaviour, he makes ſuch a public Torture of him, as muſt terrify all Rogues from the like Practices; otherwiſe he is committed to an Officer to be ſimply hanged, and then that Officer takes him into the Street, and chooſeth what Man's Sign, or Poſt he pleaſes, and conſtrains whom he thinks fit, to perform the Ceremony; and a *Frank*, if he comes by unluckily at that Time, is not ſafe from being preferred to the Employment.

Apology for theſe Remarks.

I have related theſe Inſtances of legal Proceeding in *Turky*, which we had from our Merchant in a long Series of Converſation after his Return home, becauſe I know that no Perſon from *England* ever brought home more Knowledge of *Turky* than he did, and more eſpecially in the Nature of their Laws, which he had uſed and practiſed as a Native amongſt them; and alſo, becauſe I think them very conſiderable

conſiderable in the Science of Legiſlature, as well as for Conference with our *European* Methods. And farther, becauſe there is a common Opinion, that *Turky* hath no Law nor Property, but the Will of the Powers, there, is the Law to the People; and how intolerable is it, ſay they, that one ſingle Judge, ſitting upon his Legs, determines every Man's Right? And how obnoxious is that Conſtitution to be corrupted? Whereupon there is Ground to ſay the very Juſtice of the Country is Slavery; yet in Anſwer to this, two Things may be alledged. Firſt, that it is impoſſible politically to contrive, that he, who hath Power to judge right, ſhould not have alſo Power to judge wrong, and, by one Means or other, be bribed or corrupted ſo to do. Secondly, it is a Queſtion, whether, in Experience, the ordinary Checks by the *European* Laws, ſet up to controul this arbitrary Power of judging, by numerous Forms, Dilatories, Proceſſes, Offices, Allegations, and Probations without End, to ſay nothing of Errors, and appeals touched before, are found to have much mended the Matter? I ſhall not ſtay to enlarge in Anſwer to this Queſtion, becauſe I would offend none, nor give too much Occaſion to be thought either petulant in depreciating the Laws of our own Country, or treacherous in ſeeming to undermine what many (however miſtakenly) think the Security of their Liberty and Properties.

Eſtates after Death well ſecured. Corruptions every where.

The great Oppreſſions in *Turky* are of the *Greek* Subjects, who, by the Governors, are uſed ill enough; which may have occaſioned an Opinion, that ſuch Proceeding is univerſal. Whereas, when a Man dies, the Juſtice takes an Account, and ſees the Aſſets collected and divided as ſteddily, according to their Rules of Law, as here under the Act for Diſtribution of Inteſtate's Eſtates, unleſs the Deceaſed hath belonged to the Court, or been an Officer under the Government; then indeed as in *Holland*, and other Places, the Magiſtrate ſeiſes all with the Books, *&c.* upon ſuppoſal of the Party's having cheated the State; after which it is very difficult to get Matters cleared. But in *Turky*, at the worſt, they allow ſome Maintenance to the Family, and are contented to ſwallow only the Reſt. But, in the Main, Corruption enough no doubt; and where is it not ſo? If it is found there, that mean Men truckle under the Tyranny of the Greater, and bear Oppreſſion rather than offend them; here Men truckle for Fear of the Law itſelf, and let their juſt Right and Property go, rather than launch into a Deluge of Officers, Counſellors and Forms. Evils plenty may be preſumed in all Places, and according to the Proverb, Might overcomes Right every where. So the Queſtion is not of Sincerity or Corruption, but of more or leſs of either, and alſo of the Conſequences thereupon. And ſo I conclude this

this (perhaps too) long String of Items concerning the Methods of Law in *Turky*.

Inſupportably fatigued by a Partner.

It is Time now to return to the Perſon and mercantile Affairs of our Merchant. After Mr. *Hedges* came for *England*, and left him, which was as ſoon as he ſaw his Buſineſs advanced, and in a fair Way to be wholly ſet right, Mr. *North* and Mr. *Palmer* continued the *Ragion* at *Conſtantinople*. Mr. *Palmer* was one that would talk, but do nothing. If he would have been contented to have enjoyed his own jovial Company and Wine, to which he was addicted in continual Exceſs, and to have taken the Profit of his Partner's great Labour and Pains, without contributing the leaſt Share of his own Trouble towards it, Mr. *North* had been wonderfully well ſatisfied. But he was ſo far from being contented with that, as to be continually interpoſing, teaſing, and vexing, but never really aſſiſting him; it was his Cuſtom always to finiſh his own Buſineſs, that is to get very drunk, before Night; and then Mr. *North* uſually returned home, tired with his Day Labour, weary as he could live; and often, when his Affairs had not ſucceeded well, as he thought it reaſonable to have expected, diſcontented in Mind. In that dejected State, he either freely, or as he was aſked by his Partner, gave Accounts how Matters went, and what he had done that Day, and inſtead of a little Comfort for his Pains, as a chearful Countenance, and (ſince Things would be no better) an Approbation; the other had no Brains to underſtand what was done, and his Drink made him rude; ſo that well, or ill, he was ſure to blame every Thing; one was too much, and another too little, one too ſoon, and another too late, and ever ſomewhat ſhould have been done that was not done, over or under done; and, in ſhort, nothing right; which was enough to break the Spirit of a true Pains-taker. And every Man, that labours ſincerely in a common Cauſe, and finds Blame inſtead of Acceptance, muſt be ſenſible what a vexatious Thing it is. *Ben Servire & non Gradire, coſa che fa Morire*, That is, *to do good Service, and never be thanked for it, is enough to break one's Heart*. And all this Extremity, not at Times, but continually. I have heard our Merchant ſay, that, coming home weary, he hath often ſat down at the Door, and durſt not go in for Fear of his Partner, whoſe Uſage was more faſtidious to him than all the Toil of the whole Day. It may be ſaid a Remedy was at Hand, that is Parting; a Remedy it's true, but not ſo eaſy as ſeems; however it proved to be the true Phyſic at laſt. Thus ſtood the Caſe.

Broke with his Partner.

Theſe Partners lived in a great Houſe, and what with Servants, *Eſcrivains*, and other Attendances (as their Buſineſs required) at a great Expence, all which went into the *Ragion*; and, if that had declined, as muſt have been the Conſequence if the Houſe had loſt its Credit, all muſt break up, and be gone. The Buſineſs from *England* was

more

more from Mr. *Palmer*'s Intereſt and from his Friends, than from any Friends, or Principals, Mr. *North* could value himſelf upon. Therefore, if Mr. *Palmer* was excluded, the greateſt Part of the Employment of the Houſe fell off. This was a Wolf by the Ears, which the Merchant ſcarce knew how to hold, or to let go. At length, after a World of Reflection and Conſideration, and having weighed all Circumſtances, he reſolved to break, hoping that, in a ſolitary Capacity, he might enjoy in Peace that little he had acquired.

Accounted to *England* for the Breach, and retired.

When this Purpoſe of his was fully matured, ſo as not to be diverted by any Incident, he told his Partner of it, and that they muſt neceſſarily divide. And, about the ſame Time, he made his Diſpatches to all the Principals in *England*, and Correſpondents of the Factory in other Nations; and, where it was decent, he gave a clear Account of the Reaſons of this Separation, which I gueſs were ſatisfactory to the chief of them; for, as ſoon as the Rupture was known upon the Exchange, and the Merchants fell to deliberating, which of theſe two Factors to employ, the Determination proved intirely in Mr. *North*'s Favour, as I ſhall ſhew. He, with great Precaution and Prudence, and all at once, ſtruck off his expenſive Way of Living. He left the great Houſe, and retired to a private, and cheap Way, of maintaining himſelf. He kept what Warehouſes he had Occaſion for, and paſt his Time in negotiating thoſe Affairs he had the intire Command of, juſt as if he had been a puny Factor newly ſent out from *England*. And, in that State, he wrought with Pleaſure, and ſlept with Eaſe, neither of which could be done in the Houſe with his Partner.

His Buſineſs returning, he returned to his Houſe.

The Principals ſoon found (as I ſaid) which of the two was fitteſt to be relied on, and, beſides a full Juſtification, he applied ſo ingeniouſly and reſpectfully to them, offering his Service, and engaging to uſe the utmoſt Diligence, and Application, in all Concerns wherein they ſhould think fit to employ him; and having already ſhewed himſelf in all Reſpects competent for their Buſineſs, much the greater Part of them ſent out all their Commiſſions to him only, and dropt the other, who ſoon fell to nothing. When our Merchant began to feel the Buſineſs return to him, he left his private Way of living, and took to his great Houſe again, and conducted the Factory in a State of as great Credit as ever it had. This was one of his bold Strokes, whereby he did not ſeek to palliate an Inconvenience, but reſcinded it all at once. And this Change of his Meaſures may be accounted the firſt advanced Poſt gained in the courſe of his Fortunes; for now he was ſuperior, and felt himſelf Maſter of his Work, and of himſelf, that, all his Life before, had been under ſome Degree of Subjection.

He calls up from *Aleppo* his Brother into his *Ragion*.

The Merchants do not care to truſt ſingle Perſons in Factories abroad, becauſe, upon their Deaths happening, there is Danger of Embezzlements. When there are two or more in Partnerſhip, all is ſafe; and upon adjunct of a new Partner or two, the Buſineſs goes on as before. Therefore our Merchant, finding himſelf Head of his Houſe, and greatly intruſted, thought it neceſſary to give the Principals the Satisfaction of ſeeing an able Partner ſettled in the Houſe with him. He had a Brother, Mr. *Mountagu North*, who had been regularly bred a *Turky* Merchant, and then reſided as a Factor in Buſineſs at *Aleppo*, which is one of the *Engliſh* Factories in *Turky*. He thought he could not do better than to take him into the *Ragion*, and as he himſelf was ſent for up from *Smyrna*, ſo to ſend for his Brother up to him from *Aleppo*, which would be equally a Preferment, and ſatisfy the Principals. Beſides, whenever he left the Country, of which he had a continual View, his Brother would remain in his Place a truſty and able Factor, planted and inſtructed by himſelf, in Poſſeſſion of a Factory, to whom he might adjoin other Partners as he pleaſed. And this Deſign he put in Execution; and under the ſame Oeconomy, the Houſe, being ſupplied from Time to Time with Factors from *England*, hath been, and ſtill continues, in good Credit to this Day. And, in the mean Time, the Content our Merchant had in the Exchange from a ſottiſh, moroſe, unſatisfied Partner, to that of a Brother and a Friend, and having been always peculiarly fond of his Relations, is inexpreſſible. Now, in this happy State of Partnerſhip, we muſt leave him, and obſerve, as much as may be, his Way of Dealing which brought him in his great Riches, which was not in the common Road, and little practiſed either before or ſince.

Choſen Treaſurer, and fell to building his Conveniences.

Upon the failing of Mr. *Palmer*, as I take it, Mr. *North* was choſen Treaſurer of the *Turky* Company; an Office the *Turks* call *Haſnadar*. His former Dealings, and that Buſineſs, led him to know, and (beyond perſonal Acquaintance) to have Friendſhips with, diverſe of the Baſhas, Beys, and *Turks* in Authority. He was ſenſible of two great Defects of Accommodation in his Way of Living; one was for the Eaſe of his Mind, a fire-tight Room, where he might ſecure Goods from the Danger of Fire, which happens often in and about *Conſtantinople*. And the other was a *Sopha* Room, wherein he might receive, and entertain the *Turks*, that came to viſit him, after their own Way. This ſort of Room will be found deſcribed in his Hiſtory of *Avanias*. He found, that theſe Conveniences could not be obtained without building them; and accordingly he reſolved upon it. In the firſt Place he made the Houſe his own, by purchaſing it right out, and, by ſome Contrivance in the Law, had it aſſured to him,

him. He found it very difficult to get Lime enough; and, being ſold by Weight, as all Things, even Stones, are in *Turky*, it proved very dear. The *Turks* at *Conſtantinople* uſe no Sand with their Lime, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, they have it not, but from the Sea, which is ſaline, and unfit; but, inſtead of that, they uſe beaten Brick, which, they account, makes the better Cement. He found a very clever Way of coming to theſe Proviſions; for, being well acquainted with *Bobahaſſan*, a Bey of a Galley, he procured of him a String of Slaves out of his *Chiurm*, with a *Capo*, to work in his Building.

Served by a *Chiurm* of Galley Slaves.

The Bey was very willing to do this Piece of Service to the Merchant, with whom he had Dependances in Trade, and Loans to a great Value; and it both gratified the Slaves, and ſaved their Meat. The Merchant gave to each of them an *Aſper* (little leſs than a Penny) a Day, and a Quart of ſour Wine; and, for Food, a *Caldron* of Pottage, which might be called a *Spaniſh Olio*, made of all Sorts of Offal from the Kitchen, as of Beef, Bacon, Fat, Bread, Herbs, Roots, and what not, in Scraps and Scrapings boiled ſoundly together; this they ate with the greateſt Content imaginable, and of all Things begged to be ſent to this Service. Their Work was to dig up all the Yards, and ſearch for Stone, and they raiſed upon the Spot what nearly ſerved the Turn; for the Soil was all no other than Ruin upon Ruin of Buildings, which former Wars upon Wars had made. Not only the Stones of Walls and Houſes came up, but Grave-ſtones, Pieces of Coffins, and Sepulchres roſe, and all filled their Places in the Building. Another Employ they had, was to go about the City and gather Brick-bats to beat into Powder for Mortar, and he uſed to wonder where the poor Fellows found ſuch Quantities as they brought in. They were very deſirous to pleaſe the Merchant, and did immediately whatever he required, ſaying only, *Si Padron*, or, *yes, Maſter*. The diligent working of theſe Fellows, as they did from Morning to Night, made the Work be carried on at much leſs Charge, than uſually Buildings in that City required; and, in a reaſonable Time, it was brought to Perfection.

The *Oggera* and *Sopha* built; he then ſold, and rented the Houſe.

The *Oggera* was vaulted over, thick and ſolid; it had Iron Grates, and Shutter to the Window, and an Iron Door; theſe, being earthed up, were a Security to all, that was laid in, from Fire. Above was a large Counting Houſe, in which the Caſh was kept, and all the Writing and Diſpatches performed. And the *Sopha*-room was to the Merchant's Content; and there was a ſingular Uſe of it in giving Content to great Men that came there. In ſhort, the Merchants lived in this new Eſtabliſhment with entire Satisfaction. But Mr. *Dudley North* was not without ſome Qualms that came over his Conſcience, leſt, by theſe Works, and this way of Living, the *Turks* ſhould ſcent

out, that he was the Owner of an Houſe; and he did not know what Quirks in the Law might be thereupon found out to give him Trouble, or perhaps to ſtop his Voyage, when he was about to come for *England*; and under theſe Fears and Jealouſies, he could not be at Eaſe, and, at length, he reſolved to ſell it, and live in it as a Tenant, and pay a Rent to his Purchaſer. He went to a rich *Turk*, whoſe Perſon he knew well, and alſo, that he was an honeſt Man, and made his Propoſal to him; he immediately cloſed, and, going into his Cloſet, brought forth his Price in *Venetian Chequeens*, which the Merchant carried home in his Boſom, without leaving Scrip or Scroll of Acquittance, or otherwiſe concerning it. Such Truſt may Men gain in the World by a ſteddy, honeſt Behaviour. The Transfer was made at Leiſure, and ſo that Affair of the Houſe was begun, carried on, and ended. If buying and ſelling Eſtates in *England* were tranſacted as eaſily, there would be more trading for Land than we have been acquainted with. The Merchants, in this Houſe of Factorage, lived in good Order and Plenty; and, having Room enough, admitted Perſons to live and board with them; eſpecially the latter, becauſe Cook's Shops and Ordinaries are not there as in *London*; and alſo they harboured, for ſome Time, Perſons recommended from *England*, and other Places of their Cognizance, or tranſient Travellers; for there the gallant *Huom* is much profeſſed; the Perſon, to whom the *Italian* Letter is addreſſed, being a moſt accompliſh'd Secretary and boon Companion, was a Boarder in the Houſe. It was hard to keep a Table, as they, who were not Maſters of any Time, or Hours, did, tolerably in Order; for, as their Buſineſs called, they muſt go, and loſe no Opportunities of Profit, or preventing Loſs, to which Engagements, Eating, and Drinking, was always poſtponed; and if they had ordered it ſo, that the Dinner muſt ſtay till all came together, no Hour in the Day would fit them, and their Dinners muſt be ſpoil'd; their Order, therefore, was that, at an Hour prefixt (ſuppoſe one) the Meal was ſet upon the Table, and if none were at home, it ſtood till ſome came; and often they dined one after another as they dropt in, and nothing was taken away but as they ordered; but at Night they were all together at home, or at their Neighbour's, of Courſe; when the chief Inconvenience was the Bottle: Elſe, a more pleaſant Courſe of Life could not well be contrived, than to cloſe a Day of Fatigue in Buſineſs with a known ingenious Set of Companions, and the whole World for the Subject of their Converſation.

The inſolent Behaviour of a *Derviſe*, to a great Man.

This Merchant's chief Friend and Acquaintance at Court was *Uſine Aga*, or the chief Cuſtomer. They uſed to eat and drink together at each other's Houſes; and once the Merchant dined with *Uſine Aga*, and an holy *Derviſe* came in, and ſat him down by the *Turk*,

Turk, as if he had been his Fellow. Such Familiarities are commonly uſed by holy Pretenders; and, beyond that, they often reprove, and ſometimes revile, great Men: All which ſeems to reſemble the ſaucy Behaviour of the old *Cynick* Philoſophers, whom neither the old *Grecians* (them) nor the modern *Turks* (theſe) dare to uſe as they deſerve, becauſe the common People have them in great Veneration. The *Derviſe* was much diſturbed, that *Uſine Aga* ſhould ſuffer a *Gower* (or Unbeliever) to ſit and eat Meat with him, and reproved him for it, which he minded not; at laſt the *Derviſe* turned him towards the Merchant, and *Gower*, ſaid he, *are not you happy to ſit here, and eat ſo good Meat, the like of which you never taſted in your Life before?* (It is common for People of all Nations, to think no other People eat ſo well as themſelves.) *Hold your Tongue* Haggi, *ſaid* Uſine Aga, *I have ate and drank a great deal better at his Houſe*; meaning good Pork, and Wine, as thoſe ſuperior *Turks* will do in private, and be as drunk as any *Chriſtian*; for, of all Profeſſions, there are enough, and thoſe ſufficiently wicked in their ſeveral Ways.

The manner of Dealing with the *Seraglio*.

As to our Merchant's extraordinary Methods of Trade, by which he obtained ſuperabundant Profit, it is not my Fortune to have gathered many Particulars; but a little I have for a Taſte; and that conſiſted firſt in dealing with the Court, and ſecondly with the Baſhas, and Officers; the former for Jewels, and the other in Loans of Money and exceſſive Uſury, ordinarily twenty or thirty *per cent*. Of each of theſe I can give one Inſtance; and firſt for the Method of ſelling Jewels, which I have heard him ſay he hath done to the value of four or five thouſand Dollars in a Parcel, and in the Manner following. When at the *Seraglio* Jewels are wanted, as for Preſents, Weddings, and the like, an Officer is ſent out among the known Traders, giving them to underſtand, that ſuch Goods are wanted. He (as others alſo on the like Errand commonly do) carried the Jewels to an Officer that, like a Botcher in a Paltry Hut, ſate croſs-leg'd with his Boxes and Utenſils all in his Reach. He received the Jewels, and, writing upon his Hand, took a ſhort Account of them, and of the Merchant's Name and Reſidence, and then he laid all by together; the Merchant went away without Witneſs, Scrip, or Scroll for his Goods. This done, he never failed to ſpeak with all the chief Jewellers in the City, letting them know the Marks and Price of his Jewels, deſiring them, if enquired of, not to prize them lower. After this, if the Jewels were liked, a Meſſenger came to know the Price; if not approved, he had Warning to come and take them away. After he named his Price, they enquired of the Jewellers, and then commonly it was a Bargain; and the next News was to come,

and

and take his Money. And that he did by Porters, taking it up, and all together running away with it as faſt as they could; and, in this great Truſt, there was never known a Fraud put upon any Man; and the Money, (barring Accidents in Telling) never failed of being right. I wiſh I could ſay as much for all *Chriſtian* Courts, Treaſurers, and Exchequers.

The manner of Loans to great Officers.

All thoſe, who come into Poſts of Authority, and Profit, in *Turky*, are ſure to pay for them, and, on that Account, the *Seraglio* is a ſort of Market. This makes the Baſhas, who ſolicite for better Preferment, and all the Pretenders to Places, prodigiouſly greedy of Money; which they cannot have without Borrowing, and, if they can but get the Money, they care not upon what Terms, for the Place, to be paid for, will ſoon reimburſe them. The lending theſe Men Money, is a very eaſy Trade as to the Terms, but a very difficult Trade as to the Security. For, by the *Turkiſh* Law, all Intereſt, for the Forbearance of Money, is unlawful; and the Debtor need not, whatever he agrees, pay a Farthing on that Account. Therefore they are forced to go to Tricks, and, like our Gameſters, take the Intereſt together with the Principal, and, if it be queſtioned, call it *Premio*. And the Security is very frail, for the perſonal is worſe than nothing; for who would travel as far as *Trepizond*, to ſue a Baſha? But the Work is done by Pawns (really) but, in Appearance, bought right out, for a Price, which is made good perhaps with raſcally Goods ſold; and all this is authenticated by *Odgett* from the Judge, who, knowing the Myſtery, yet, partly, by Reaſon of the natural Equity in taking Intereſt, and partly for Favour to the *Frank* Merchants, who are his beſt Clients, readily lets ſuch *Odgetts* paſs. But, after all, there is a World of Cunning and Caution belongs to this kind of Dealing, and the Wiſeſt may ſuffer greatly by it; but our Merchant had the good Luck to come of ſcot-free, and made his Advantages accordingly.

Converſation with a Bey of a Gally, one *Bobahaſſan*.

I have mentioned one *Bobahaſſan*; he, being a Bey of a Gally, which requires a very great Caſh, and withall a luxurious Fellow, was in perpetual Want of Money. And our Merchant, and he, valued each other for their ſeveral Ends. The Merchant for getting immenſe Profit by Dealing; and the other for a ſure Card, to get Money at a Pinch, which otherwiſe he knew not how to compaſs. And, out of theſe bizarr Notions, and Ingredients, a wonderful Familiarity, and ſeeming Friendſhip grew up, and was conſerved, between theſe Animals of a very different Species. The Bey was a merry Fellow, and, like other voluptuous *Turks*, had his Buffoons to divert him, and he often play'd the Buffoon himſelf; as for Inſtance, talking with his Merchant, he hath ſeveral Times ſaid, *You and I are very*

very good Friends, but our Purſes quarrel; and then (acting with his Hands) *your Purſe gives my Purſe a Jobb, then my Purſe gives your Purſe a Knock, and ſo they fight; but all the while we are very good Friends.* Once, when they were merry together in the Gally, a Man brought two Slaves to ſell; he agreed the Price, and, calling his Steward, ordered him to take them into his Yard, and pay for them. The Steward grumbled that they had too many, and could ſcarce feed thoſe they had, and what ſhould they do with more, ſince the Oars did not want them? *Cane ſenza fede*, That is, *You infidel Dog*, ſaid the Bey, *can we have too many? Muſt not there be ſome for me, and ſome for the Plague?* Then he turned, and *Merchant*, ſaid he, *when is the Shepherd rich? Come anſwer me quick, when is the Shepherd rich? I think*, ſaid the Merchant, *when he hath moſt Sheep. See there*, ſaid he to his Man, *Cane ſenza fede, what the Merchant ſays, and about your Buſineſs.*

An Adventure of bad Cloth, ſold to *Bobahaſſan.*

It will be readily believed, that the Merchant did not endure the Company of this faſtidious Monſter for nothing; he uſed him as well for getting off his rotten Cloth and trumpery Goods, which were not otherwiſe vendible, as for plain lending; for he could be demure and ſay, he had no Money, the Ships were gone off, by which he had made his Returns; but he had ſome Goods left, and if he would pleaſe to take them for Part, with ſome Money he could raiſe, he might ſerve him with the Sum he deſired, and ſo forth. Once he was walking in the Street at *Conſtantinople*, and ſaw a Fellow bearing a Piece of very rotten worthleſs Cloth, that he had put off to the Bey, and knew it again; and he could not hold, but aſked the Fellow where he had that Cloth. With that the Man throws down the Cloth, and, ſitting him down at a Door, fell to Swearing and Curſing that Dog *Bobahaſſan*, that made him take it for a Debt; but he more furiouſly curſt that Dog that ſold it to him, wiſhing him, his Father, Mother, and all his Kindred burnt alive, and the like; the Merchant thought it beſt to ſneak away, for if he had been found out to have been once the Cloth's Owner, he had certainly been beaten. So great Men cheat one another, but it is the Poor that bears all at the laſt.

Almoſt lamed with ſitting croſs-legged.

Before I proceed to relate any other conſiderable Actions, and undertakings of our Merchant, I ſhall take Notice of ſome perſonal Incidents and Characters; and then, as Things profer to my Memory, ſtep forwards. He made once a formal Viſit to a great Man, and was entertained upon the *Sopha*. It is the Mode there, that, when the Maſter is viſited, a Number of Slaves ſtand below the *Sopha*, at the End of the Room, like ſo many Images, as mute as Fiſhes. The Merchant, thinking to be complaiſant, and to conform with the Mode of

of the *Turks*, ſat upon his Legs, as the *Turk* he viſited did. It was uneaſy, or rather very painful, to him at firſt, but, after a while, he felt no Uneaſineſs at all; and no Wonder, for the Leg, his Weight lay upon, was numbed, ſo as to have no Feeling at all. When he offered to riſe, and got up a little, he fell down, as if one of his Legs had been cut off. The Maſter made his Sign, and the Attendance came all forward, and, laying him down upon the *Sopha*, rubbed and chaffed his Leg for near an Hour, until he ſaid he felt it pain him; and then they conducted him to his Way homewards, which he did not attain but ſlowly, and with great Pain, and then he took his Bed, and lay for divers Weeks before he was at any Eaſe in ſtirring about. It ſeems the Slaves were well inſtructed in this Proceſs, for the like Occaſion happens frequently in great Men's Houſes, when Men of other Nations will be too forward with their Complaiſances.

Cured himſelf of two Wens on his Knees.

The Merchant had a very ſtrange, and dreadful Infirmity growing faſt upon him, which was a Wen upon each Knee. He never could know how theſe came at firſt; but the riſing of them ſtrangely ſurpriſed him, and, after a little Time, they were no leſs ſtrangely, and not by Skill, or Intention, but, by meer Accident, cured. They were Twins, and grown ſo big that he could not walk with any Strength, and leaſt of all down Hill or Stairs. It was deliberated whether he ſhould not ſubmit to have them taken off; which if he had done, he had probably loſt his Legs, if not his Life. He could not but anticipate in his Mind the great Miſchief theſe Excreſcences might bring upon him; which was ſuch a continual Trouble to him, that he could ſcarce ever keep his Hands from them. But once, while he was handling one of them, he obſerved a little Matter iſſue at a Point, ſomewhat like a Curd, and, as he ſqueezed, ſtill more came out, and, as he ſtill urged, that alſo ſtarted. Upon Examination and Trial, he found the ſame upon the other Knee, and then he ſeldom forbore this Squeezing as long as any Curd would iſſue, and at length, by this, and no other Means, he reduced the Wens to nothing; and ſo made an unexpected, but perfect, Cure upon himſelf. This is Matter of Fact, and well worthy to be known, for the Sake of thoſe unfortunate Perſons that may have ſuch fungous Excreſcences riſing up, and growing under the Skin. But our Merchant, notwithſtanding his Cure, was never, in all his Life after, ſtrong in thoſe Joints.

Other Cures in the Way of Diet.

Another infirmity fell upon him, as he accounted it to be, which he cured with no leſs Reſolution than the former; which was a too conſtant Drinking the hot *Greek* Wine in Evenings. It is well known that the Merchants abroad are too much given to the Bottle; and many come home as very Sots, as if they had never gone abroad. In the

the mercantile Society at *Conſtantinople*, the jolly Cup commonly cloſed the Evening; and Mr. *North*, being always *debonnair* and complaiſant, kept them Company, and did as they did; until, at length, he found that, if he went to Bed without a Bottle or two in his Belly, he could not ſleep, and that ſtrong Wine was his *Laudanum*, as if he had been troubled with the Hyſterics. *Is it ſo?* ſaid he to himſelf: *That Experiment ſhall be tried: Muſt I be a Sot, becauſe I do not ſleep?* And thereupon he reſolved to drink no Wine at Night, and held it. At firſt he found, as before, that he could not ſleep; but, after a Night or two, he fell to ſleep juſt as he uſed to do when he drank Wine. This was one of his ſhort Turns, ſuch as I have obſerved of him, and ſhall further obſerve him uſing, when any thing troubled him, which was not inſuperable.

But this too ſudden Turn brought another Inconvenience upon him; for, not long after, he began to be almoſt continually indiſpoſed; and his Nights were uneaſy; and, thinking it beſt, forbore Suppers, and was a little better upon it; and then perſevering, he grew worſe and worſe, in a manner as the Doctors call a Cachexy, or bad Habit, which is ordinarily cured by Diet and Regimen. He once complained to one of their Quacks, whom they called Doctor; and he told him that his Regimen had been utterly wrong, and ſo long as he lived ſo abſtemiouſly, he never would be at eaſe, and well; and therefore wiſhed him to indulge at the common Hours, but without any Exceſs, and at Night always eat ſomewhat, and particularly what was ſavoury, as Cavear, or Anchovies, ſufficient to reliſh a Glaſs of Wine or two before he went to Bed. He went into this Courſe, and, finding a manifeſt Change for the better by it, he never left it off as long as he lived. It ſeems that, after he found his Heart's Eaſe at *Conſtantinople*, he began to grow fat, which increaſed upon him, till, being ſomewhat tall, and well whiskered, he made a jolly Appearance, ſuch as the *Turks* approve moſt of all in a Man.

He had a Shew-Audience before the Grand Signor.

This gives me an Handle to relate a Paſſage concerning himſelf, which he told me in Familiarity and Confidence, ſaying he had let no Mortal elſe (his beſt Brother only excepted) have any Knowledge of it, leſt they ſhould think he lied out of Vanity. The great Officers about the Grand Signor, with whom he had tranſacted, and (with ſuch Reſpects as became him) familiarly converſed, told his Majeſty that there was now, in the City of *Conſtantinople*, an extraordinary *Gower*, as well for Perſon as Abilities, to tranſact the greateſt Affairs; and ſo, in the ordinary Converſation with the Grand Signor, he was often named for ſomewhat conſiderable, beſides his acting as *Haſnadar* of the *Engliſh* Nation under their Embaſſador.

The Grand Signor declared, he would ſee this extraordinary *Gower*; and accordingly the Merchant was told of it; and, at the Time appointed, an Officer conducted him into the Seraglio, and carried him about till he came to a little Garden, and there two other Men took him by the two Arms, and led him to a Place where he ſaw the Grand Signor ſitting againſt a large Window open, in a Chamber not very high from the Ground; the Men, that were his Conductors, holding each an Arm, put their Hands upon his Neck, and bowed him down till his Forehead touched the Ground; and this was done more than once, and is the very ſame forced Obeiſance of Ambaſſadors at their Audiences. After this, he ſtood bolt upright as long as the Grand Signor thought fit to look at him; and then, upon a Sign given, he was taken away and ſet free again by himſelf, to reflect on this his romantic Audience.

His Addreſs and Security againſt Knaves.

As to his public Capacities, the Treaſurerſhip gave him Opportunity to ſhew his Addreſs, and enlarge his Acquaintance. He held a fair Correſpondence with the Embaſſadors of other Nations and their Dependants, and was well accepted by them. He was good Company, facetious, fluent, and knew how to behave himſelf to all. He obſerved Decorums, regarded his Superiors, familiarized with his Equals, and gave no Offence to his Inferiors. He had acquired an exquiſite Skill in human Nature, and knew how to deal with all the various Species of Politicians and Trickers, and was never, in any conſiderable Paſs, over-reached by any of them. And if, in a ſmall Matter, at any time, he found himſelf deluded, his Cheater had better have been further off, for he made it known with a Witneſs. Once a *Jew* had taken Advantage of a little too much Credulity, and turned a Trick upon him. When he found it, he began to rage moſt deſperately; and a Brother *Jew*, to pacify him, came and told him, that Man was a pitiful Wretch; and, if it ſhould be known, that ſo great a Man was cheated by ſuch a Fellow, it would much concern his Honour, and reflect upon his Wiſdom. But this did not ſtop the Fury of our Merchant; but he ſo much the louder cried out, *I was a Fool, and I was cheated; and he is a Villain, and a Dog*; and the like. He was reſolved the Fellow's Knavery ſhould be known, and that the flattering Inſinuation of his Brother *Jew* ſhould not cover him from open Diſgrace.

Bias to Truth inexpugnable, and by that preſerved.

He had an uncommon Diſpoſition to Truth, and could think nothing firm, and to be relied on, that was grounded on any Falſity; and, in a ſort of Paſſion, when Difficulties ſurrounded him, his Way was to go to the Truth of Things, and, fall Back fall Edge, there he ſtuck. His Experience had inſtructed him, that ſuch a Courſe, however ſeeming blunt and indiſcreet, commonly ſucceeded more fortunately

tunately than the ſubtileſt of Lies. He was very ſeldom guilty of Offence to any, except in the Way of Tell-truth, which he could ſcarce ever forbear. Once one of their Underlings had done a very fooliſh thing, not without Suſpicion of Knavery; and being found out, and laughed at by him, the Man begged hard of him not to tell it in the Factory, and he promiſed he would not, if he could help it; and then opened it at large to the firſt Company he met, and excuſed himſelf to his Man, that he could not help it. I do not know that his Nature was ſo averſe to any thing, as to a falſe tricking Knave, and ſuch, coming in his way, provoked him almoſt to Madneſs. But this Averſion to Falſeneſs in others made a good Return in Security to himſelf; for it kept him in a firm Reſolution, whatever became of him, to have Truth and Right on his own Side; for afterwards, in *England*, when diverſe of an exaſperated Faction would have perſecuted him to death, his good Friends, Truth and plain Dealing, preſerved him; as I ſhall ſhew, after I have him ſafe home.

Of *Avania's*, his Relation of them, and Apology.

During our Merchant's Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, and while Sir *John Finch* (and, as muſt be underſtood, Sir *Thomas Bains*) was Embaſſador, the Grand Vizier raiſed, or urged upon the Nation, diverſe falſe and extortious Demands, which they call *Avania's*; which coſt the Nation very great Sums of Money; and thoſe often fell hard upon him, as Treaſurer, to provide. In the Company's Affairs he always anſwered to the utmoſt Penny of their Effects in his Hands, but he would not ingulf his own particular Eſtate in the public Concern, and then depend upon any one's good Nature to reimburſe him; of which Evil he was in ſome Danger, as will appear afterwards. I ſhall ſay nothing of the particular *Avania's*, becauſe he hath penned an exact and judicious Account of them; and therein you will find him very modeſt, in having related little or nothing in his own Favour, or to extol his own Conduct, though much was performed by him; nor hath he arrogated any happy Events to himſelf, though he was the chief Means to procure them. But he doth not ſpare to cenſure things as he thought they deſerved, whether any Reflection may thereby fall either upon himſelf or his Countrymen, or not. When, in Affairs of the Public, Men have once acted their Parts, their Concern therein is, as it were, at an end; and what they have done is, as it were, divided from them, and from thenceforth belongs to the Public, and may be treated with abſolute Freedom and Veracity. It is a great Miſtake for any Man to expect, that, in hiſtorical Relations, he ſhould be made an Hero, and, like them in Romances, be always not only blameleſs, but Sovereign. No Man is without Defects and Failings, and can claim Perfection in nothing

but a good Will; and any Relation, that repreſents Perſons otherwiſe, is falſe. Therefore, being conſcious of Errors enough in our own ſelves, and believing no leſs of our Neighbours, why ſhould any Matters of Fact be denied a Place in public Memorials, for any partial Reſpects, contrary to the Law of all good Hiſtory? This I ſay by Way of Apology for what may ſeem to reflect on the Embaſſador, or any of the Nation, in the Accounts our Merchant hath penned and left behind him; and there is obſervable in them a ſort of Modeſty, as well as Reſpect, ſhewed to the Concerned, which of itſelf would excuſe the Relations that, conſiſtent with Truth, would not have carried more.

Reſiſts the Ambaſſador, as to levying Money.

But, as to the firſt Matter of our Merchant's Modeſty, in not commending himſelf in any thing, or ſetting out Matters that might ſeem ſo to do, I will ſubjoin a Relation I had from himſelf. Upon the making up of the great *Avania*, I think it was that for Recovery of the Capitulations, a vaſt Sum was to be raiſed, as his Relation ſhews; and, if the Treaſury wants, and Money cannot be borrowed, and repaid as it comes in, the Way of raiſing it is by taxing the Nation, that is, all the Trade and Goods of the *Engliſh* at *Conſtantinople*, and the other Factories in *Turky*: And this is to be done by the Embaſſador, who, with the Merchants his Counſel about him, and none elſe, hath Authority to order ſuch things. Upon this Occaſion Sir *John Finch*, and the Chevalier, as they called Sir *Thomas Bains*, were loth to charge ſo great a Tax, as this muſt be, by his own Authority; but, calling the Treaſurer forth, declared poſitively, that he muſt take the whole upon him, and do it as well as he could; which he, having no Money of the Company's in his Hands, as poſitively refuſed to do: At which the Ambaſſador and his Friend were in a furious Emportment, and, in Language, carried it very high againſt the Treaſurer; but he ſtood to his Point, and was not moved one Hair from his Refuſal: And, after the Bluſter was over, the Ambaſſador, to put his Sentence in execution, commanded his Cancellier to take a Place there, and then he and the Knight fell to penning a Proteſt againſt the Treaſurer, to be entered *in Cancellaria*, of abundance of Articles, importing many thouſands of Pounds, by Way of Damages, to be made good by him to the Nation, for his Default. The Treaſurer, in great Admiration, all this while ſtood ſtock ſtill, not interpoſing a Word. At laſt, he was required to make his Anſwer to this long Proteſt. He deſired a Pen and Ink, and a Piece of Paper, and going aſide, in a little time returned, and gave it into the Cancellier's Hands, as his Anſwer to the Proteſt, and deſired it might be entered accordingly. It was very ſhort, and in effect

effect but this, *viz. That he was Treaſurer to the* Levant *Company, and ready with his Perſon to receive, and iſſue ſuch Monies as his Lordſhip the Ambaſſador ſhould order to be raiſed, and paid for the Service of the Nation*; and underwrote his Name. When the Ambaſſador and his Friend had peruſed and conſidered this Anſwer, they cooled; and Sir *Thomas* ſaid, it was beſt to lay both aſide: And thereupon they proceeded in Form to the making an Act for raiſing the Money; and ſo the Buſineſs was done.

The Tracts about the *Turkiſh* Affairs, and of a Companion a Secretary.

The Tracts penned by our Merchant at *Conſtantinople*, which concern the Time before he left the Place, are theſe: I. *The Hiſtory of Avania's*; to which I have added ſome Accounts of the Time ſince he left the Place, and thoſe I took from ſome Memorandums of his Brother, whom he left behind him. II. The Account of the Audience at *Adrianople*, when Sir *John Finch* renewed the Capitulations with the Government there, which was a Matter of great Conſequence to the Merchant's Trade there. III. *A Letter to one*

Account of the Letter wrote to this Secretary.

an *Italian* Virtuoſo, who lived with him in his Houſe, and was a Miniſter of the Duke of *Florence*, in that City, to ſpy and adviſe all Occurrences. He was a very good Companion, and a dextrous Secretary. He had made himſelf Maſter of all the *Turkiſh* Forms, and could write to them in their own Phraſe and Style; and, by the Character of the Man and his Employ, I verily believe he was the very Perſon that wrote the genuine Letters of the *Turkiſh Spy*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*. The Merchant had contracted an Intimacy and Friendſhip with him, and knew diverſe of his Methods of correſponding, ſuch as he uſed to his Maſter, and other Courts in *Europe*, giving an Account of Incidents concerning *Turky*, and what might affect the *Chriſtian* States. He converſed with all ſorts of Men, *Eſcrivains*, *Dragomen*, *&c.* was *debonnair* and free in Company, whereby to make others ſo with him: He was literally all Things to all Men, and never diſſented in any Way of paſſing Time; walking, riding, eating, drinking, or any thing the Company liked, ſeemed agreeable to him. In making his Diſpatches, which were by every Conveyance, he uſed firſt to write to his Maſter the Great Duke; and in that Letter he charged all that he could collect to write by that Conveyance: And, that done, he had his Materials for all his other Letters; for what he wrote to every one, was here and there culled out of that, according as their Characters required.

This Letter to him is wrote in *Italian*, in the Style of vulgar ſpeaking at that time, which the Merchant had acquired to a Perfection, and expreſſed himſelf as naturally and fluently in it, as if it had been his Mother Tongue; and it hath been obſerved, that no *Frank* ever ſpoke the vulgar *Italian* Idiom ſo correct and perfect as he

he did. I obſerved a ſort of Quaintneſs or Spirit in the penning, which made me give it in its own Dreſs: But, for the Convenience of ſuch as perhaps may be leſs acquainted with *Italian* than I am, I have con-columned a Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh*, which, if not ſo well done as the Letter deſerves, I hope will appear yet juſt and true.

A Repulſe at buying a Horſe.

It was our Merchant's Fortune to be Treaſurer, when the grand Equipment for the Audience of Sir *John Finch* at *Adrianople* was made; and to be charged with the providing all things neceſſary for the Journey, and, to his great Fatigue, to attend it in Perſon. And now, leaving all the Particulars of thoſe Affairs to be found in the Merchant's own Relation, which ſhew what a Work the whole muſt be (for the Ambaſſador took no trouble of any thing at all to himſelf) I will proceed, and relate one Paſſage the Merchant told us happened to him about buying an Horſe for the Ambaſſador to ride on. Upon the Death of a *Baſha*, or ſome great Man, his Goods were ſold by Outcry; and, among other Things, a famous Horſe was to be ſold: The Merchant went in order to buy it, if he might ſo do. When he appeared, and asked the Price, the Manager of the Sale, who was a Man of conſiderable Authority, raiſed himſelf up, and, *Is there*, ſaid he, *never a* Muſſulman (or true Believer) *left in the World, to come and buy this fine Horſe; but he muſt fall into the Hands of a naſty* Gower, *to ſet his ſh—n *A—e upon? Chick.* The Merchant needed not hear the Word twice, but gat him gone; for if he had perſiſted, the *Turks* probably, who think an Horſe too noble a Creature for an Infidel to ride upon, at the Inſtigation of that Fellow, might have fallen upon, and beat him.

The Merchant underſtood the Genius of the *Turks*, and knew how to make his Court as well as any Man living: I will inſtance but in one Paſſage I find in Dr. *Covel*'s Account of the *Greek* Church, *fol.* 317. Mr. *Dudley North* once told *Cara Mahmet*, that our Divines compared ſuch an ungrateful vile Man (not owning God's Gifts) to a Swine that grows fat with Acorns, and wallows in them, never minding, or looking up to the Tree, from whence they fell. The *Turk* fell into a great Rapture in their Praiſe and Commendation. Above all Creatures, the *Turks* abominate a Swine.

* The *Turks* are in nothing more ſuperſtitious than in cleanſing their Poſteriors, which they think the *Franks* never do, or not enough at leaſt.

A Relation of diverſe Turkiſh Avanias *, *ſince the Government of* Cara Muſtapha Baſha, Vizier Azem.

'FOR the better underſtanding of theſe Affairs, it is abſolutely neceſſary firſt to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Nature of the Government of the Office of *Vizier Azem*, or chief *Vizier*, and of the ſeveral *Kaimachams* which are his Subſtitutes, and act only in his Abſence.

'The *Turkiſh* Government is directly that of an Army, being under the ſame Methods in the City in time of Peace, as in the Field during the War. The Grand Signor is the General; he hath indeed a double Capacity, the one as Head of the Empire, the other as a private Perſon. As Head of the Empire, he hath a daily Pay out of their public Treaſury; and his common and ordinary Charges, both at home and abroad, are born by the *Teſtardar*, or Treaſurer for the Empire. As he is a private Perſon, he receives Preſents, Fines, and Confiſcations; and defrays many extraordinary Expences, as Buildings for charitable Uſes, Jewels for himſelf and his Women, *&c.* which Treaſury is under the Care of the *Haſna Kiiaſi*, or Treaſurer of the Grand Signor.

'Here is to be noted that, in his private Capacity, he is always vaſtly rich, and heaps up very great Treaſures; when, many times, the public Treaſury is exhauſted; ſo that, in Wars, he is often fain to lend great Sums of Money to the Public, which they are ſure punctually to pay again.

'The next in Office under the Grand Signor, in the Government, is the *Vizier Azem*, or chief Miniſter, who is of that Credit in the Empire, that the Grand Signor calls him Tutor; and indeed he acts all both in Peace and War. The Grand Signor, minding his Pleaſures, leaves all to him: And this happens, not more out of Luxury than, from the Maxims of their Policy: But, when the Grand Signor is an active Prince, and will look into Buſineſs himſelf, or when he is jealous, and his Nature fickle, apt to hear and believe Complaints againſt his Great Miniſter, the *Vizier* ſignifies much leſs.

'When the Grand Signor goes to the War, he carries with him all the Officers of the Court, even the *Mufti*, Judges, and all: The like doth the *Grand Vizier*, when the Grand Signor ſtays behind. But then he leaves a Subſtitute, which they call *Kaimacham*, to act like him in his Abſence: And all the other great Officers of the State make their Subſtitutes in like manner; ſo that the Grand Signor

* Unjuſt Demands againſt the Merchants.

'Signor hath as formal a Court as he had before. So alſo, in caſe 'he doth not ſtay in the imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, but re- 'moves to any other Part of the Empire; where-ever he goes, he 'carries with him his whole Court; but then, not to leave the great 'City deſtitute, a new *Kaimacham*, and other Subſtitutes are appoint- 'ed; whereby, notwithſtanding the Abſence both of the Grand Signor 'and *Vizier*, the City hath the ſame formal Government as if they 'were all there; with this Difference, that theſe are Underlings, 'and dare not meddle in great Matters. But, in all Buſineſs of Con- 'cern, they receive Orders from their Principals abroad, and act ac- 'cordingly.

'The Government being thus ſupplied, there is no need (unleſs 'upon extraordinary Occaſion) for the leiger Ambaſſador of any Na- 'tion to attend the Perſon of the *Vizier*, but they may diſpatch their 'Buſineſs in *Conſtantinople*, the Reſident of *Germany* only excepted, 'who continually attends the *Vizier*'s Camp, at ſome reaſonable 'Diſtance.

'In the Minority of this Grand Signor, the Government was ſo 'broken, and Things ſo unſettled, that a *Vizier* could ſcarcely hold 'his Place to the end of a Year; whereby Things came to a very 'bad paſs, Soldiers not to be governed, and the Revenue anticipated 'above five Years beforehand; and then, as the propereſt Remedy for 'theſe Evils, a rigid, cruel-natured Fellow was found out, and made '*Vizier*, who was the famous old *Cuperli*; a Man ſo obſcure, that 'he was even known but to few, and had been employed only in 'ſome petty *Baſhalick*, and, at that time, was poor, and in Debt. 'This Man was no ſooner in his Seat, but he was marked out for 'ſudden Ruin by thoſe who had been acquainted with ſupplanting 'one the other. But he took a Courſe different from what they 'expected, and were acquainted with; for he preſently cut off the 'Heads of the factious Party, and in ſo little time reduced the State 'to Peace and Quiet, and freed the Revenue, ſettling himſelf ſo ſe- 'cure, that the Grand Signor continued him about ſeven Years, till 'his Death, and then, by Recommendation, appointed his Son to 'ſucceed in his ſtead; who came to the Place with great Advantage, 'ſucceeding his Father that, in his Time, had reduced the People, 'ſo that none durſt appear to move factiouſly.

'This Man, *Achmet Baſha*, was bred up to Learning many Years, 'making Profeſſion of the Law, and had been actually a Judge in 'Civil Cauſes, a Quality ſcarce ever known in a *Vizier* before; to 'which being added a natural Juſtice and good Diſpoſition, he was 'one of the beſt Miniſters that People ever knew. In this manner 'he ruled the Empire for about fourteen Years, till his Death; the

'Grand

'Grand Signor all the while purſuing his Pleaſures, hunting on the 'Mountains, to which he was much addicted; and ſo lived free 'from the Terrors and Frights he had formerly endured from the 'Factious, upon every Change of a Vizier. Immediately, upon this '*Vizier's* Death, *Cara Muſtapha Baſha* ſucceeded, who had been, for 'many Years, the next Perſon to the Vizier, and his *Kaimacham*, 'when he went out to the Wars. He was brought up a menial Ser-'vant, under old *Cuperli*; and, having gradually paſſed all the Of-'fices of the Court, is now the preſent Vizier, having reigned in 'that Place about four Years. He hath behaved himſelf with great 'Rigour and Severity, but without Blood, contenting himſelf with 'Money, which, with ſtrange Rapacity, he hath raked from all Sorts 'and Conditions of People; and he hath found this, not only a ſufficient 'Expedient of humbling his Enemies, but a great Means of Pro-'tection, which the Grand Signor, of late Years grown very covetous, 'hath daily exacted in great Sums from him.

'Thus much I thought fit to ſay by Way of Introduction, before 'I entered upon the *Avanias* that happened in his Time; and that 'for two Reaſons; firſt, that it might appear how long the *Franks* '(as all *European* Nations, that have Articles of Peace, are called) 'had lived under the good Government of *Achmet Baſha*, *viz.* four-'teen Years, and ſeven Years before that, under his Father old *Cu-'perli*, who, though of a bad Diſpoſition, yet, being wholly taken 'up to redreſs the Wrongs of the depraved Government, had not time 'to mind them; in which twenty-one Years, it is likely, they had a 'little forgot the former Rigour of the *Turks*, and, doubtleſs, acted 'many things with a great deal leſs of Circumſpection, than is abſo-'lutely neceſſary to them that live under that Government. And, in 'the ſecond Place, that it may appear, Viziers are now more firm 'in their Seats, than they have been in former Times; the Grand 'Signor not having made any Change theſe twenty-five Years; ſo 'that they, who think Complaints to the Grand Signor might be 'heard againſt them, may, upon Trial, find themſelves much de-'ceived. The *Raguſeans* were thrice repulſed by the Grand Signor, 'on Complaints made againſt the preſent Viziers, without the leaſt 'Redreſs; and many others have had the like Succeſs.'

The first Avania, *made on our* Engliſh *Nation, concerning the Audience of the Embaſſador.*

'WHEN the Vizier came firſt to the City of *Conſtantinople*, 'which was not long after he was made Vizier, all the Em-'baſſadors made their Addreſſes to receive the firſt Audience of Com-'pliment uſual to a new Vizier; and not long after, a Day was ap-'pointed to the *French* Embaſſador. Here it is to be noted, that 'the *Turks* are a People who abound in Ceremonies as much as any 'whatever, tho' not always, nor at all Times, alike. Sometimes an 'Embaſſador ſhall be received by the Vizier with a great deal of 'Formality and Ceremony, and at other Times without any at all. 'The Formalities conſiſt in putting on the *Divan* Habit, and by 'cauſing two Chairs to be brought into the Room, one for the Vi-'zier, and the other for the Embaſſador. When it is without any 'Formality, then the Vizier appears only in his ordinary Habit, and 'ſits on his Cuſhions in his Corner, and the Embaſſador not being 'able to ſit by him in the Manner the Vizier ſits (which no Man, not 'bred to it from a Child, is able to do) and for the Honour to keep 'up the Cuſtom of their Countries, hath a Stool ſet for him, juſt 'before the Vizier, at ſome ſmall Diſtance.

'Now, in all Rooms of State in *Turky*, the upper Part is raiſed with 'an Half-pace, about a Foot higher than the reſt of the Room. But 'all the Room, both upper and lower Floor, is covered with rich 'Carpets, Beds, and Cuſhions round the Walls, to lean againſt and ſit 'on. The *French* Embaſſador, coming into the Room appointed 'for his Audience, found the Chair ſet for him below the Half-pace, 'and the Vizier's above; whereupon he ſpoke to one of his Servants, 'to ſet his Chair likewiſe upon the Half-pace; but before he could ſet 'himſelf therein, it was taken away by a *Turk*, and ſet where it 'was before. Then the Embaſſador takes it himſelf, and ſets it upon 'the Half-pace, and, being about to ſit down, a *Turk* ſnatched it 'away, and had like to have given him a Fall. News of this was car-'ried to the Vizier, who called for the *Dragoman*, and aſked what 'the Embaſſador meant; and ſent him Word, that, if he would not 'ſet his Chair below the Half-pace, as it ſtood at firſt, he would not 'come out to him; whereupon, after ſome Meſſages backwards and 'forwards to the ſame Effect, without any Condeſcenſion on either 'Side, the Embaſſador roſe up, and went away, without any Audi-'ence at all.

'This

'This was no ſooner done, but we had Notice of it, and not long 'after, came a Meſſenger, from the Vizier, to our Embaſſador, to ap-'point his Audience; but his Lordſhip, to gain Time, thought fit to 'receive the Meſſenger on his Bed, and excuſed himſelf upon Indiſpo-'ſition. The ſame Meſſenger was afterwards ſent to the *Venetian* 'Embaſſador, and *Dutch* Reſident, to appoint their Audiences, who 'received them in Manner as the Vizier ordered. Not many Days 'after, the Vizier threatened the *French* Embaſſador for the Affront, 'and confined him to his Houſe, and ordered him not to ſtir without 'Leave; in which they were ſo ſtrict, as to deny Leave when aſked, 'to viſit an Embaſſador from *Poland*. His Lordſhip thereupon drew 'up a Memorial, inſiſting therein, that former Viziers had received 'Embaſſadors with their Chairs on the ſame Place, and that he durſt 'not receive it on other Terms. This Memorial was given in, but 'had no Anſwer; and the *Dragoman*, who carried it, was rated and 'threatened.

'Things continued in this State ſome Time; when Arguments on 'all Sides were thought on, and though former Viziers had admitted 'the Chair to ſtand on the ſame Half-pace with theirs, yet it was 'found, that this Vizier, when he was but *Kaimacham*, or Deputy, 'had received this very *French* Embaſſador, in the ſame Way he now 'required; and had practiſed the ſame with ſeveral others. After 'ſome Months, the *French* Embaſſador finding the Vizier's Diſplea-'ſure, and fearing worſe Conſequences, ſeeks Peace on the Vizier's 'Terms, and, with great Difficulty, procures it, being forced to give 'an extraordinary Preſent to the Value of three thouſand Dollars; 'which Sum was hardly made up with ſelling his Houſe, Plate, and 'rich Furniture; and he, being much in Debt, was reduced to that Ex-'tremity, that he had ſcarce Credit to buy Victuals into his Houſe, as 'was generally believed.

'Our Embaſſador in the mean Time ſtands his Ground, and takes 'no Notice at all of any Thing, till he was forced to it on this Oc-'caſion. The great Feaſt, or *Bairam*, of the *Turks*, approaching, 'at which it is cuſtomary for all Embaſſadors to ſend Preſents to 'the Vizier, our *Dragoman* went to the Vizier's chief Officer, to 'know when they ſhould bring the Preſents. In Anſwer to which 'he received ill Words and Threats: Whereat his Excellency, being 'ſenſible of the Danger the whole Nation was in (one of the *Smyrna* 'Merchants being already brought up by a *Chiaus* on a Law-ſuit, 'without any Notice to the Embaſſador) and not knowing what Vio-'lence the Vizier might come to; and alſo having now the Example 'of the *French* Embaſſador's Compliance, Means were made, to de-'ſire the Audience on the Vizier's own Terms. For obtaining which,

'after much Time ſpent, and all Endeavours uſed, it was at laſt con-
'cluded to pay ſix thouſand Dollars ready Money; and not long
'after, the Embaſſador had his Audience accordingly, the Vizier be-
'having himſelf very inſolently all the while. The *French* Embaſ-
'ſador hath been ſince recalled, and another ſent, who, to the laſt
'Advices, had not received a public Audience on the Score of plac-
'ing the Chair, tho' he had been in *Conſtantinople* above a Year. But
'at his firſt coming, he had a familiar Audience, as I have deſcribed,
'he pretending Orders from the *French* King, not to condeſcend
'in this Point.

Reflections.

'THE Vizier being an haughty rigid Man, there was little Rea-
'ſon to expect, he ſhould part with a Ceremony upon Diſpute,
'while Vizier, which he had enjoyed in a lower Sphere; being but
'*Kaimacham*. And tho' the *Engliſh* Embaſſador had Reaſon to ſtand
'as high upon his Honour as the Embaſſador of the *French*; yet it
'might have been foreſeen, that, where an Embaſſador reſides on the
'Score of Trade only, it would not be thought fit to break upon
'Punctilios; and yielding, on the Vizier's Part, was not to be ex-
'pected; therefore it muſt come to a Redemption. Between Nations,
'where there are mutual Embaſſadors, Ceremonies and Reſpects are
'retaliated, and Affronts are paid in the ſame Kind; but the *Turks*,
'having no Embaſſadors, expect no Payment but ready Money. They
'will not acknowledge they receive any Benefit by our Trading with
'them; and therefore have no manner of Regard to a good Correſpon-
'dence with us; as appears by their refuſing our Preſents, and ſlight-
'ing our Complaints on all Occaſions. Our Policy therefore is, to
'trade as quietly as we can, and intermeddle with them as little as is
'poſſible, to the End they may take no Occaſion to prey upon us;
'as for certain they will do upon any Pretence whatſoever.

The ſecond Avania, *being made upon Mr.* John Aſhby *Merchant in* Smyrna.

'A Certain *Venetian*, or rather *Candiot*, called *Pizzimani*, a Per-
'ſon of no Reputation or Wealth, having bought a conſiderable
'Quantity of Glaſs-beads, and other *Venetian* Wares, trading from
'*Venice* to *Smyrna*, on which he owed Money, pawned the Goods
'to an *Engliſh* Merchant there, and took up, at Intereſt on them,
'three

'three thouſand Dollars. Not long after, the Merchant dies, and his 'Parther Mr. *John Aſhby* (who was abſent at *Adrianople*, when 'the Pawn was taken) taking the Account of his Partner's Buſineſs 'and Eſtate, found this Pawn; whereupon, Time of Payment 'being paſt, he demands the Money of *Pizzimani*, who, from Time 'to Time, baffled him. At length, finding no Probability of his 'Compliance, Mr. *Aſhby* (the Partner) cites him before the *Engliſh* 'Conſul in *Smyrna*, before whom he gave no Satisfaction of Perfor-'mance according to his Obligation. Therefore the Conſul con-'demns the Goods to be ſold by Inch of Candle, which was done ac-'cordingly. *Pizzimani* all the while behaving himſelf ſo, as it 'could not be proved he either conſented to, or oppoſed, the Pro-'ceeding. But after all was over, and the Goods produced ſhort of 'his Obligation, he takes a Copy of the Sale out of the *Engliſh Can-'cellaria*, and, with them, goes up to *Conſtantinople*; where, coming 'before the Vizier, he declares himſelf a Subject of the Grand Sig-'nor, as born in his Kingdom of *Candia*, and complained of a Wrong 'done him by a Merchant, Mr. *Aſhby*, in *Smyrna*, and obtains an Of-'ficer and command, to bring him up to anſwer his Suit at the 'Grand Signor's *Divan*.

'Mr. *Aſhby*, being come to *Conſtantinople*, ſoon ſaw that the Sale 'of Goods by the Candle, to which the Owner's Conſent could not 'be proved, would not ſtand in the *Turkiſh* Law; but the Goods 'remaining entire, and being eaſily procured from them that had 'bought them, it was thought beſt to deny the Sale wholly, as if no 'ſuch Thing had been; and to take off the Vizier, and get a Refe-'rence to the Law, five hundred Dollars were given to the Grand Sig-'nor's chief Page; whereupon the Buſineſs was heard twice by the 'chief Judge of *Conſtantinople*; firſt in the Preſence of the Vizier, 'and, after, at the Judge's Houſe. At both which Trials, *Pizzi-'mani* produced the Copy of the Sale, out of the *Engliſh Cancellaria*, 'under the Conſul's Hand and Seal of the Office, the which were 'poſitively denied, and it was pretended to know nothing of it. Then he 'brought two *Turks*, that were preſent at the Sale at *Smyrna*, to wit-'neſs the ſame, which they did; but not being able to anſwer parti-'cularly ſome Queſtions which the Judge aſked them, and we all the 'while ſtoutly denying the ſame, and affirming that the Goods re-'mained, and ſhould be reſtored upon Payment, the Judge believed 'us before them, and gave his Sentence, that they ſhould both re-'turn to *Smyrna*, the one to receive the Money, and the other his 'Goods. Soon after this it happened, that the Servant of him who 'had taken the Bribe of five hundred Dollars, his Maſter not having 'called for it, and he not knowing what it was for, met the Mer-

'chant

'chant that had given it him, and aſked him what he muſt do with 'the Money; he anſwered, *Give it me again*, which he did. A Day 'or two paſſed when the Vizier's chief Page called for the Money, 'and, finding it gone, ſent to the Merchant for it, who now, thinking 'all ſafe, refuſed to give it again. Whereupon the *Turk* grew en-'raged, and threatned him ſeverely, what he afterwards performed 'to the full; for, in a little Time, he ſo informed his Maſter, the 'Vizier, that all Parties were ſummon'd to the Grand Signor's 'public *Divan*, and there, without calling any Judge to his Aſſi-'ſtance, after little or no Hearing, he condemns Mr. *Aſhby* to pay '*Pizzimani* four thouſand Dollars, for which he was clapped up 'in Chains for about twenty Days, till he paid the Money, and he 'was made to pay the five hundred Dollars taken from the Servant, 'for Fear of farther Severity.

Reflections.

'THE Evil, that happened to Mr. *Aſhby*, is not to be wondered 'at, conſidering the Errors of the Proceeding. Firſt, that the '*Engliſh* Conſul, who hath Juriſdiction only among Perſons of his 'own Nation, ſhould do Juſtice for an *Engliſh* Man againſt a Stran-'ger. Secondly, ſuch Juſtice as the *Turks* do not allow their own 'Subjects, for they do not condemn Pawns after that Manner. 'Thirdly, againſt ſuch a Stranger as might intitle himſelf to be a 'Subject of the Grand Signor; and this without plain Proof of ſuch 'a Conſent as had ſtood in their Law, which, if ſuch Conſent was, 'might be had in Writing. Fourthly, to ſubſtract the Preſent, after 'they had obtained Sentence, and thought themſelves paſt Danger. 'And fifthly, when the Proceeding was queſtioned, to attempt the 'evading Juſtice by ſuch impudent and falſe Aſſertions. No *Je-'ſuitical* Diſtinctions can juſtify ſuch a baſe Defence, which muſt 'needs make an ill Impreſſion on the Vizier againſt our Nation, not 'eaſily to be removed. It is not to be wondered, that the Vizier 'ſhould make ſuch quick work, after he underſtood the Truth. 'Certainly we have no Cauſe to complain of this *Avania*, but to 'ſtifle, what we can, the very Memory of it.

The third Avania, *made on the* Engliſh *Nation, on Account of the new Lion Dollars brought to* Aleppo.

'AS Introduction to an Account of this, it is neceſſary to take 'a Notice of the ſeveral Monies that are moſt frequent in '*Turky*.

'The proper Money of *Turky*, coined by the Grand Signor, is in 'Silver only, a very ſmall Piece called an Aſper, in Value leſs than a 'Penny; the which, being made with an imperfect ugly Stamp, is 'very much clipped and counterfeited, and, for that Reaſon, in little 'Eſteem. But, generally, the Monies of *Chriſtian* Countries are cur-'rent here, and ſo throughout the Empire. At firſt, *Spaniſh* Pieces 'of Eight were moſt in Uſe. But they, being liable to be clipped, 'and no Way certainly to detect it, but weighing them Piece by 'Piece, have been many Years ſince diſuſed, and now are looked on 'rather as Merchandize than Money. The moſt eſteemed Money at 'preſent, are the Lion Dollars, and Florins of *Holland*, &c. Though 'many other Coins alſo paſs, as Rix Dollars of *Germany*, Quarts of '*Poland*, *Hungarian* and *Venetian* Chequeens, the Soude of *France*, 'and five Sous Pieces. Generally the *Turks* deſire old Money; when 'new comes, they look upon it as counterfeit, and made on Purpoſe 'to deceive them. They having been ſo ſerved lately by the *French*, 'and others, by five Sous Pieces, on which all, that I have to ſay of 'Money, depends: Therefore I add an Account of the five Sous 'Pieces, called *Temeens*, their Riſe and Fall in *Turky*.

'At firſt, a *French* Mariner brought ſome few of the five Sous 'Pieces for an Adventure to *Smyrna*, and finding them to paſs among 'the Shop-keepers (who were pleaſed with the Prettineſs of the 'Stamp) at eight to the weighty Piece of eight, which made a great 'Advantage; he and his Companions, next Voyage, brought more, 'which, going alſo at the ſame Rate, encouraged others; and ſo, 'from a Mariner's Commodity, it came to be taken up by the Mer-'chants, who brought in large Quantities. And, finding that *France* 'afforded not a ſufficient Supply of that Coin to anſwer the Occaſion, 'they ſet the Mint on Work on Purpoſe for them. The great Gains, 'made by theſe Monies, permitted them to raiſe the Price of Goods 'in *Turky* to the Ruin of other Nations, whereupon, all People ex-'claiming againſt theſe new Monies, they fell in ſome Diſrepute; ſo 'that they were forced to paſs them at ten to the Dollar to get 'them off. And, to make up that Loſs, they put to them more of 'Alloy; but not being able to effect that in the Royal Mint of

'*France*,

'*France*, they found out a Lady in *France*, Madame *D*——, who 'had a Right of Coyning, and gave in her Arms three Flowers de 'Luce. And ſhe ſupplied them with large Quantities. And the Cheat 'was not found out by the *Turks*; for the Arms were the ſame, 'and the Face not much different, and they could not read the In-'ſcription. After this Example, others ſoon went to work; the 'Duke of *Florence*, State of *Genoa*, and almoſt all the petty States 'in *Italy*; ſuch, as by any Means could hook in Flowers de Luce, were 'ſure to make this Uſe of them. They, that had no direct Title, 'made ſomewhat elſe to be like them, ſome made ſpread Eagles ſo 'like Flowers de Luce, that it muſt be a cunning Man that could diſ-'tinguiſh them. Quantities, thus flowing in, made the Money fall 'ſtill lower, even to paſs at eleven and twelve to the Dollar, which 'they got up again by the Baſeneſs of the Metal, which was re-'duced to be almoſt Copper, ſome not to have three in twelve Ounces 'fine Silver.

'All the while this Money paſſed, our Nation, who were moſt 'aggrieved by it, laboured againſt it all that they poſſibly could, and 'ſpent Money many Times, and had them cried down; but all ſignified 'little. It was a fine Money, and pleaſed the common People, 'who would not be beat off it; but at length, the Humour ſpent 'itſelf, and the Braſs, in all the worn Monies, appearing plainly, it 'fell quite out of Credit and Uſe. It was generally thought that, 'whenever this Money ſhould fall, it would be the Ruin of the '*French*, and all the known Importers of it, as to be forced to change 'great Quantities of it. But it proved otherwiſe; for, happening in 'the latter End of the good Vizier *Achmet* Baſha, every Man was 'fain to ſit down by his own Loſs, and they, that had any of this 'Money upon their Hands, generally carried it to the Mint, had it 'refined, and ſold the Silver. Then followed the Introduction of 'new Lion Dollars; an Account of which, and the Reaſon, fol-'lows.

'The melting down, and refining ſuch vaſt Quantities of five Sous 'Pieces, produced ſuch a Flood of Silver in all Parts of *Turky*, that 'the King of *Spain's* Money, good Pieces of eight, were worth very 'little more than the Lion Dollar of *Holland*, tho' the intrinſic Dif-'ference be about eighteen *per cent*. Whereupon the Merchants cared 'not to carry *Spaniſh* Money any longer; but looked out for Lion 'Dollars, and Florins, which turned much better to Account, and 'this Trade lying conveniently for our Merchants, they were as deeply 'concerned in it as any elſe. So that all the old Money was ſoon 'drained out of thoſe Countries, and they were forced to go to Mint-'ing for making new; which they coined at all the ſeveral Mints in '*Holland*;

'*Holland*, and other Provinces, in what Quantities they pleaſed. 'But new Monies being now looked upon in *Turky* with great Jea- 'louſy, on Account of the *Temeens*, or five Sous Pieces, by which 'they had been ſo lately, and ſo conſiderably, Sufferers; and the *Le- 'vant* Company at home fearing that ſome of the Merchants might, 'together with new Money, import ſome of inferior Alloy, which 'might cauſe great Scandal to the whole Nation in *Turky*, and poſ- 'ſibly a great *Avania*; thought fit to make an Order, that all Monies, 'arriving in *Turky*, ſhould be ſearched by the Embaſſador, and Con- 'ſuls, aſſiſted by the Company's Treaſurer; and that, if any were 'found not of perfect Alloy, it ſhould not be permitted to land. And 'this was recommended to be done, in the Preſence of the Cuſto- 'mers and *Turkiſh* Officers, that their Sincerity might be made ap- 'parent. The former Part of this Order was good, and of excel- 'lent Uſe, but the Latter, of intereſting the *Turks* therein, ruined 'all; as will appear in the Sequel, wherein I ſhall ſet out the Manner 'or Occaſion that gave the firſt Ground for the *Avania* on new 'Monies.

'Soon after the Receipt of the foregoing Order of the *Levant* 'Company in *Turky*, about examining of Money; there arrived 'ſome thouſands of new Dollars at *Conſtantinople*; the which, being 'in the Time of a very jealous and fearful Cuſtomer, we no ſooner 'ſpoke to him of examining the Money, but, knowing it to be no 'Part of his Place or Buſineſs, he wholly declined venturing upon 'it; juſtly fearing, that, falſe Monies after appearing, it might be 'charged on his Connivance at the Importation; whereupon he de- 'clared he would not be concerned therein. The Embaſſador finding 'this, to the End that the Company's Order might not be wholly 'fruſtrate; ſent to the *Kaimacham*, the Vizier's Repreſentative, and 'tells him a plauſible Story of our Honeſty, and that we would 'not import any Money without his Examination of it; and ſo de- 'ſired him to appoint ſome of his Mint Officers to inſpect a Parcel 'lately arrived. He, being a downright plain Man, and of good 'Meaning, commended our Proceedings, and ordered ſome Officers 'of the Mint to go along with us, which, for a ſmall Matter, they 'did, and the Money proving very good, all was as well as could be 'wiſhed.

'Not long after, this *Kaimacham* was changed, and another touchy 'jealous old Fellow ſucceeded him; unto whom coming on the ſame 'Score, upon the Arrival of more Money, notwithſtanding all the 'fair Stories we could make, and the Precedent we had of his Pre- 'deceſſor, yet he ſnapped us up, "What? You would have me ſee "the good Money? You would never call me if it were bad. You

" have taken all that aſhore already, and now you would have me " ſee the Good;" Nor could we induce him to concern himſelf ' at all in the Matter, until the Embaſſador went in Perſon to him; ' when purely out of Compliment he ſuffered it to be brought into ' his Preſence. This might have been a Demonſtration of the great ' Inconveniences to follow upon theſe Proceedings, yet nothing would ' make us change them. It was the Company's Order, and the firſt ' *Kaimacham* taking it well (tho' he had not been concerned, had ' not the Cuſtomer refuſed it) the Embaſſador magnified it as an ' Improvement of the Company's Order, and ſo could not lay it ' down with Honour.

' But ſoon after, the Vizier himſelf coming to *Conſtantinople*, a ' little Ship brought up one thouſand five hundred weighty Dollars, ' which we dare not touch, for Fear of breaking the Company's ' Orders, without firſt acquainting the Vizier, which was done by ' his *Kaia*. We heard from him in the very ſame Strain with the old ' touchy *Kaimacham*, and the more we inſiſted to have the Money ' inſpected, the more they conceived a bad Opinion of us, and that it ' was a Deſign to cover the Importation of bad Money. So that at ' laſt we were fain to take it out of the Ship, and examine it by our- ' ſelves. Nor did the ſame Order fare better at *Smyrna* or *Aleppo*; ' where, tho' the Cuſtomers were induced to inſpect our Monies, ' yet they always came to it unwillingly, and with Fears, and made ' a Money-buſineſs of it, that is, they would be paid for venturing ' to do what they did.

' To come now to the *Avania*, which began at *Aleppo*. It is to ' be premiſed, that *Aleppo* is a very great Baſhalic; the Baſha of it, ' in the Wars, commonly commanding the Front of the Army; ' therefore he ſeldom reſides at *Aleppo*, but farms out the Profits to ' ſome pitiful Fellow or other, who ſignifies little more than a ' Rent-gatherer. And thus it had been for ſome Time paſt; but ' the Baſha being now at *Aleppo* in Perſon, very hungry and poor, ' our General Ships arrived with two hundred thouſand Dollars, ' moſtly new Lions. Coming to the Inſpection, the Baſha would ' concern himſelf, and would have a good Sum for his Share. But ' the Conſul there not daring to yield to him, having been blamed ' for ſome ſuch Allowances, the Baſha, who perceived he was likely ' to get nothing, in Revenge, ſends a Diſpatch to the Vizier at *Con-* ' *ſtantinople*, informing him, that the *Engliſh* had imported four ' hundred Purſes of falſe Money; whereat the Vizier took Fire, ' and ſent to have all the Money ſeized and ſecured, and two Dol- ' lars taken out of every Bag, and ſent to him. We heard of this by ' Accident, juſt before his Lordſhip had his Audience of Reconcilia-

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'tion with the Vizier. His Excellency ſpoke with the Vizier about 'it, who told him plainly what he had done, and that if the Money 'proved bad, he would confiſcate it all to the Grand Signor's Uſe; 'but promiſed we ſhould have a fair Trial.

'Not many Days after, the Meſſengers arrived from *Aleppo*, and 'brought under the Seal of the Baſha and Conſul, one thouſand Dol-'lars, Part of the Money imported, whereupon the Vizier called 'the Embaſſador to ſee the Trial of it; for which all Things were 'prepared in the Vizier's Yard, and the chief Officers of the Empire 'attended as Witneſſes how it ſhould prove; the Vizier alſo peeping 'out at a Window. As ſoon as the Embaſſador came, they began 'the Trial, and firſt melted down one hundred and fifty Dollars at 'once, and, after, one hundred for a ſecond Trial; both which 'proved good according to the known Alloy of Lion Dollars. We 'were then diſmiſſed, and the *Dragoman* ordered to attend the Vi-'zier's *Kaia* next Day, where he was told, that this was a great Sum 'of Money; and ſomewhat the Vizier would have; otherwiſe we were 'threatned, that he would ſend for it all to *Conſtantinople*, and melt 'it down, and cry down all new Money from paſſing any more. 'The Money demanded was twelve thouſand five hundred Dollars, 'that is twenty five Purſes for the Vizier, and five for the *Kaia* and 'Officers; in all fifteen thouſand Dollars, which, after ſome Conſul-'tations, not being able to get any Abatement, was agreed to be 'paid, and thereon Commands ſent to *Aleppo* for freeing the Money. 'Notwithſtanding all this, the Baſha made ſuch Scruples, that he got 'near two thouſand Dollars, before the Money could be cleared; 'which was more than at firſt would have done the Buſineſs with 'him.

'In this Matter the Vizier without Doubt was much diſappointed; 'he thinking no other but the Money was falſe, as he had Reaſon, 'being wrote ſo from the Baſha of *Aleppo*. And our good Friends 'the *Dutch* in *Conſtantinople*, all ſaying the ſame Thing, and moſt 'impudently and falſly denying, that it had been coined in their 'Country. So that the Vizier, falling from ſo great an Expectation 'as confiſcating the whole was, it could not be expected he would 'be quite ſlurred, and make no Advantage by it.

Reflections.

'THE Merchants here thought it a ſure Prevention of all *Ava-'nias*, upon the Score of bad Money, to have their own paſs 'the Teſt before it was imported; and it had been well if the Trial

'had been confined to their own Officers. But to intereſt the *Turks*, 'and make them preſent, was very improvident; for it could not be 'imagined, ſo much could paſs the View of a rapacious Officer, 'without his contriving to faſten upon ſome of it; eſpecially when 'they were intituled to demand ſome Recompence for their Pains, 'undergoing a Trouble not incident to their Offices. And the *Turks* 'had great Reaſon on this Occaſion to be jealous; for why all this 'Care, but to excuſe bad Money, when it ſhould afterwards appear; 'and to lay Blame at their own Doors; which made the inferior 'Officers refuſe to take it upon them?

The fourth Avania, *being a Seiſure of the Eſtate of Mr.* Pentloe *after his Deceaſe.*

'FOR the better Underſtanding of this, it is firſt neceſſary to 'declare, that the Law of *Turky* allows not the making any 'Will to diſpoſe either Land or Goods. But according to Rules they 'have, when any Man dies, they diſpoſe his Goods to his Heirs. 'And they will not take any Evidence but *viva voce*. So that, 'with them, Books and Papers ſignify nothing; whereby it many 'Times happens, that the Wife and Children ſeiſe upon all, 'and defraud many of their Rights. Upon this Ground it hath 'been always eſteemed unſafe to employ married Men as Factors, 'and hath ever been avoided by all Perſons; their Eſtates being purely 'at the Diſcretion of their Heirs. Farther, it is to be conſidered, that 'the *Turks* account all ſuch, as have married their Subjects, no 'longer as *Franks*, but equal with the *Greeks* and other *Chriſtian* 'Subjects, and no better; as appears by what they did in *Galata* 'to ſeveral *French* and *Dutchmen* married there, which happened 'about two Years before the Death of Mr. *Pentloe*, in the manner 'following.

'*Galata*, over-againſt *Conſtantinople*, where all the *Franks* and 'a great many other *Chriſtians* live, is a Town that belongs to the 'Queen Mother, the Revenue of it going to her Maintenance. The 'Farmers of the Rents for ſome Years paſt, to beat down the Farm, 'for Argument's ſake, uſed to alledge, that the Place was in a manner 'wholly peopled with privileged Perſons, as *Dragomen*, who are 'Interpreters (and notwithſtanding that both they and their Wives 'are the Grand Signor's Subjects, yet are exempted and made free 'by the Capitulations of the Nations they ſerved, as alſo by eſpecial 'Grants to themſelves obtained at the Deſire of their reſpective Em-'baſſadors) and married *Franks*. Complaint of this being made to

'the

‘ the Vizier, he appointed an Inquiſitor, with an extraordinary Power ‘ to take Cogniſance of the Matter of Fact. He coming upon the ‘ Place, and not receiving a Bribe, as he expected, and as one did ‘ who came there on the ſame Errand ſome Years before, made ‘ ſtrict Enquiry, and gave particular Account of all he found mar- ‘ ried to the Grand Signor's Subjects, about forty Families of *French* ‘ Watch-makers, and the chief of the *French* Merchants, three of ‘ the beſt of the *Dutch* Merchants, of our Nation only one Surgeon, ‘ but Store of *Dragomen* of all Nations. On Return of which En- ‘ quiry, the Vizier immediately, and ſeverely, commands all former ‘ Privileges to *Dragomen* void; and that, from hence forward, no ‘ Nation be allowed more than three; and that for them new Pri- ‘ vileges ſhould be taken out. But that all married *Franks* ſhould ‘ be looked on as Subjects; and, as ſuch, the Collectors ſhould ga- ‘ ther all Duties from them. This to the *French* and *Dutch* was ‘ very important, their chief Merchants being comprehended. And ‘ notwithſtanding all that the *French* Embaſſador, or *Dutch* Reſident ‘ could ſay or do, and all the Endeavours of private Merchants, and ‘ Money ready to be given, ten times more than the Duties ever would ‘ have come to, not the leaſt Favour for them could be obtained; ‘ ſo that the only Expedient they could find, was to procure ſeveral ‘ titular Conſulſhips, one of *Gallipoli* in the *Helleſpont*, another of ‘ *Athens*, and ſo of other Places; the procuring of which coſt them ‘ dear alſo. But the poor Watch-makers, who could not go to ‘ that Expence, and for all whom there was not enough to pay the ‘ Charge, were fain to ſubmit and pay their Head-money. This all ‘ Nations cried out againſt, as a great Tyranny, in cauſing them, ‘ that are Strangers, to come and live in a Country under Capitu- ‘ lations, and then forcing them to become like the reſt of the ‘ Born-ſlaves. But the Caſe, fairly and truly conſidered, will not ‘ appear ſo; for the underſtanding which, it is neceſſary to declare ‘ the *Turk's* Laws in this Point; and what Opinion they have of ‘ Strangers, and the ready Admiſſion they have at all Times.

‘ The *Turks* have a general Maxim, that their Countries are the ‘ Refuge of the whole World, ſo as they admit all Strangers to come ‘ to them who will; and, if they like, may ſettle with them, and im- ‘ mediately enjoy the ſame Privileges that their Native Subjects do. ‘ But they eſteem all Subjects as Slaves; ſo that it is not lawful for ‘ any of them to deſert their Prince, and go to other Countries. ‘ Yet, by this Law, they do not ſeiſe upon all Strangers that come ‘ among them, and keep them there. But it hath in many Caſes ‘ been determined by their Lawyers, that he, who comes and re- ‘ ſides a Year there, becomes a Subject; but, before the Year is ex- ‘ pired,

'pired, he may depart. I take the Reaſon of this to ariſe thus; 'once a Year the *Turks* collect a Tribute of all their Subjects that 'are not *Mahometans*. It is not reaſonable they ſhould take this of 'a Stranger, ſo ſoon as he arrives; but, when the Year hath gone 'about, he hath as much Reaſon to pay as the reſt. And it is 'not likely that, having once received, they will forego it; for that 'would permit a great Diminution of their Revenue, which they 'endeavour to enhance, by all the Ways they can. The Reaſon, 'why all, that are not *Turks*, pay this Tribute, is, as they alledge 'it, becauſe they enjoy the Benefit of the Wars and Peace there-'upon, without ſerving in them. Elſe they would enjoy the La-'bours of the *Turks*, who are their Maſters, and pay nothing for 'it; in Compenſation of which Benefit, this Tribute is impoſed.

'All *European* Nations, that live among them, and have Articles 'for Intercourſe of Trade, are called *Franks*; not from a Corruption 'of the *French* Word (as ſome think) but from the *Italian* Tranſla-'tion of the Word they call us by in their own Language, which, 'ſignifying free or exempt, is, in *Italian*, *Franco*, and is ſo meant: 'For, by the Capitulations, we are freed from the aforeſaid Duty 'of Head-money, and ſome other Duties, their own Subjects are 'liable to; and by them we have free Liberty to come and to go 'out at our Pleaſure, which, elſe, we could not do. But it is con-'troverted whether a *Frank*, after he ſhall marry a Subject of the 'Grand Signor, can any longer retain this Freedom, upon Pretence, 'there is an Article in the Capitulations, that ſays, 'An *Engliſh* Man, "whether he be married or ſingle, ſhall be free,' *&c.* And this we 'would conſtrue to comprehend ſuch as married the Grand Signor's 'Subjects; but the *Turks* ſay, it intends only ſuch as come over 'with their Wives, and no other. And, in a Caſe any Thing dubious, 'it is ſhrewdly to be feared, that their Interpretation will ſtand before 'ours; as I have ſhewn it did in the Caſe of the *French* and *Dutch* 'that lived in the Town of *Galata*.

'The Nature of Mr. *Pentloe's* Caſe was this. He lived in *Smyrna* 'in all about thirty Years; and about ſix or ſeven before his Death, 'he married a *Greek* Woman, with whom he lived, having bought 'an Houſe and Gardens a little farther into the Town. At his Death 'he appointed two *Engliſh* Merchants, Mr. *Gabriel Smith*, and Mr. '*John Aſhby*, his Aſſigns to look after his Eſtate, recommending to 'them the ſending home his Wife and Children, which they were 'about to perform, having taken Paſſage for all of them on a Ship on 'Departure. This was about five Months after his Deceaſe; but it 'being by all People feared, that the ſending away the Woman and 'her Children might cauſe ſome future *Avania*; it was thought by

'the

'the Embaſſador and Conſul, that this Buſineſs could not be done 'privately; wherefore it was ordered, that the Aſſigns ſhould pro- 'cure the Licence of the Judge and Cuſtomer of *Smyrna*, with 'whom ſeveral Treaties were had, and Monies promiſed to be 'given. But they demanded it beforehand, and ours would part with 'nothing till it was done; ſo, coming to differ, the Judge, to do as 'much Miſchief as he could, ſends an Account to the Vizier, then 'newly arrived at *Adrianople* from the Wars of *Muſcovy*. The 'Vizier acquaints the Grand Signor with the Buſineſs, who conſults 'the *Mufti*, to know what they deſerved, who, being Subjects, were 'flying out of his Country. The *Mufti* anſwered, that their Eſtates 'were confiſcated. Whereupon Commands iſſued for the Confiſca- 'tion, and an Officer diſpatched to *Smyrna* with the ſame; as alſo 'to bring up *Smith* and *Aſhby*, the Aſſigns, to give in their Account 'of the Eſtate.

'When this was done, another Meſſenger was ſent to *Conſtanti- 'nople*, with a Letter from the Vizier to the Embaſſador, to ac- 'quaint him with what was done, and ordering him to ſend to '*Smyrna*, to ſee that nothing be acted contrary to the Grand Signor's 'Pleaſure, as alſo to ſend a *Dragoman* to be preſent at the Arrival 'of the Merchants. When the Merchants arrived at *Adrianople*, 'the *Turks* finding the Eſtate ſecured at *Smyrna*, not to import 'above fifty thouſand Dollars, which was infinitely ſhort of their 'Expectation (for by common Fame Mr. *Pentloe* was given out 'worth ten times that Sum) they imagined, the Aſſigns had concealed 'the greateſt Part, and ſo threatned them with Tortures, to make 'them confeſs where it was. Upon which they gave an Account of 'about twenty thouſand Dollars more, which they ſaid was all; yet, 'being ſcared with ſevere Threats, and fearing what might be done 'to them, they agreed to compound for the Eſtate, and take all up- 'on them, and thereupon they engaged in two Months Time to 'pay ninety thouſand Dollars, *viz.* one hundred Purſes, or fifty thou- 'ſand for the Grand Signor's Uſe; ſixty Purſes, or thirty thouſand 'Dollars for the Vizier, and twenty Purſes, or ten thouſand Dol- 'lars for the Vizier's *Kaia*; for which they were to have the whole 'Eſtate renounced to them, and be diſcharged for it out of the 'Treaſury. After which, they were brought in for a ſecond Part, 'that is to pay three thouſand five hundred Dollars to the Officer 'that brought them from *Smyrna*, and was to attend them thither 'until the Payment ſhould be compleated, for his Pains and Charges.

'This they agreed, and returned by the Way of *Conſtantinople*, 'where they ſtay'd fourteen or fifteen Days. In all which Time 'they never ſought any Redreſs for what they had done, but went

'about

'about their Buſineſs chearfully enough, and paid there ten thouſand 'Dollars of the Money. And, at their firſt Arrival in *Smyrna*, they 'began, and made ſome Payments of Monies; but the Sum being 'very great, they now perceived themſelves in a very great Error; 'becauſe they had not ſo much Goods in their Hands of the Deceaſed, 'as they thought they had, and that all People were ſhy to deal 'with them. They began alſo to perceive an Impoſſibility of their 'Compliance. Whereupon they made a Propoſition to the Nation, 'to borrow twenty thouſand Dollars, with which they ſaid they 'ſhould be able to go through; but that not being to be had, 'they quite deſponded. And the *Turks*, ſeeing nothing done for 'the Payment of the Money, had not Patience to expect the Day 'of Payment, but broke open the Ware-houſes, and made Sale of 'the Goods as they beſt could, that is, what any one would buy; 'but the Quantity of Tin being too great to be all ſold for Money, 'a good Part of it was ſent up to *Conſtantinople*; they, ſeeing this, 'abandoned all farther Thoughts of the Buſineſs, and made Appeal 'to my Lord Embaſſador for Protection, declaring they would con-'cern themſelves no farther therein.

'His Lordſhip made anſwer, that what they had done was their 'own Act, and that what they had promiſed and engaged them-'ſelves to pay under their Hands, he could not relieve them againſt; 'but he would mitigate what poſſibly he could, that they might 'have longer Time to raiſe the Money. But they perſiſted to abandon 'the Buſineſs; ſo the *Turks*, after they had made Sale of all the 'Goods they could, and had accounted the Goods ſold and unſold, 'finding the Value to fall conſiderably ſhort of the Money they 'ſtood engaged for, caſt them into Priſon for the Remainder, where 'they lay ſome Months, obſtinately reſolved not to pay a Penny 'more, even to procure their Freedom. In which Time the Widow 'takes one of her Children, and goes up to *Conſtantinople*, with an 'Intention, as was ſaid, perſonally to appeal to the Grand Signor, of 'the Wrong done her and her Children, in the Seiſure of her Huſ-'band's Eſtate. But the Vizier's Miniſters, hearing thereof, found 'her out, and, part with fair, and part with foul Means, took her 'off, and, upon her Cries and Complaints, gave her back her Huſ-'band's Houſe and Gardens, worth three thouſand five hundred 'Dollars, and ſome Money for her Charges, and, for the Aſſigns 'in Priſon, promiſed her that, for a Quantity of *Dutch* Cloth, im-'porting near two thouſand Dollars, they ſhould be freed.

'This ſhe thought would have pleaſed them; the Debt they ſtood 'engaged for, according to the making up the Accounts at *Smyrna*, 'importing upwards of ten thouſand Dollars; and this the *Turks* might

'well

'well do; for, the Parcel of Tin they had brought to *Conſtan-*
'*tinople*, in the Re-ſale, had advanced a large Sum above what they
'had taken it at, enough to make up what was wanted. But the
'Aſſigns in Priſon, altho' the Buſineſs was drawn into ſo ſmall a
'Compaſs, refuſed to pay it to clear themſelves, which was contrary
'to the Counſel of all their Friends; but were rather exaſperated
'thereby, than otherwiſe, ſaying they would lie there till a new
'Embaſſador ſhould come out, when they doubted not, but to have
'all the Eſtate returned, which they ſaid was taken from them
'only by a Cheat and Connivance. And that the Grand Signor,
'and, perhaps, the Vizier knew nothing of it. To ſuch a Pitch of
'Madneſs were they grown; the *Turks* in the mean Time, finding
'they did not comply, to force them to it, would have put them
'into a Dungeon; but they reſiſted, and had like to have killed an
'Officer that came to remove them.

'The whole Body of *Engliſh* Merchants at *Smyrna*, ſeeing Things
'in this Poſture, having Pity upon them who had none on them-
'ſelves, knowing alſo that ſome ſad Event would follow, by the
'Mediation of Doctor *Luke*, the Chaplain to the Factory, raiſed
'among themſelves about the Sum of eighteen hundred Dollars,
'which bought the Quantity of *Dutch* Cloth required, and ſo they
'were freed out of Priſon, as they have ever ſince continued, and
'gone about their Buſineſs, as if nothing of what had paſſed, ever
'was.

Reflections.

'THE Overſight that occaſioned this *Avania*, was the not ob-
'taining beforehand an authentic Licence for the Departure of
'Mr. *Pentloe*'s Wife and Children. It could not be diſputed, but
'they were the Grand Signor's Subjects, and that the Goods were
'theirs; and if, by the Law declared by the *Mufti*, all the Goods
'were forfeited for offering to leave the Country, nothing could be
'done to ſave them, but precariouſly; when *Smith* and *Aſhby* were
'ſent for, they ſhould have given a clear Account, and when they
'had done, ſtood to it, but they owned not the whole Truth,
'which being ſuſpected by the *Turks*, cauſed their hard Uſage; and
'thereupon their Hearts fell, and they were induced to agree upon
'Terms which they could not perform. It may ſeem inhuman to
'cenſure Men for yielding upon Fear of Torture; but, on the other
'Side, it will be vain to blame the *Turks* for expecting Performance of
'an Agreement founded, as they pretended, on the Law of their Country.

The fifth Avania, *by the Vizier's detaining the Capitulations, and reſtoring them again upon Payment of eighteen thouſand Dollars.*

'THIS *Avania* happened ſince my leaving *Turky*; but, by the 'Relations I have thereof, which are very large, I ſhall give 'the beſt Account I can, for your Satisfaction. I have formerly 'hinted to you, that the whole Force of the *Turkiſh* Law lies 'upon Witneſs *viva voce*, in the Face of the Adverſary. Where-'upon we, fearing that Witneſs alone, without any other law-'ful Proof of Writings or Inſtruments, if admitted againſt us, 'would be Encouragement to Rogues, to make a daily Practice to 'ſet upon our Merchants for conſiderable Sums, procured an Ar-'ticle in our Capitulations to prevent it; which, tho' it would not 'be granted directly, yet, in ſome Effect, was done; and, as we 'deſired, had its Influence in ſeveral Inſtances. The Article runs 'thus —— "That no *violett* (which in *Turkiſh* Phraſe is no more "than falſe) Witneſs ſhall be heard againſt an *Engliſh* Man, and that "the Judge ſhall not take any Cognizance in ſuch Caſes, unleſs the "Party hath an *Odgett*, or a judicial *Turkiſh* Law-inſtrument, in his "Hand." This, tho', at firſt Sight, it ſeems to ſignify nothing at 'all, being prohibitory only of falſe Witneſs, which without it are 'of no Force; yet hath been of great Uſe to us; for we have many 'Interpretations thereof made by their great Doctors, which declare, 'that this Article muſt extend to all Witneſs, it not being poſſible 'for the Judge to diſtinguiſh the True from the Falſe; and this Gloſs 'hath conſtantly ſerved in inferior Courts, and many times in the 'Vizier's *Divan* itſelf, when he hath been favourably inclined. But 'at other times, in all Ages, even by the beſt Viziers, we have been 'told, that that Article is only for inferior Courts, and that the 'Vizier looks upon himſelf to be above even the Capitulations, were 'they never ſo clear. Whereupon we have been always mighty 'tender thereof, and never produced them for that Article, but when 'we were beforehand ſure it would paſs.

'Enough hath been ſaid in former Letters of the Vizier, to ſhew 'his Temper; which, as it is violent in itſelf, ſo alſo it is apt to 'credit Violence in others, and doubtleſs is abuſed by poor impudent 'Raſcals, who, throwing themſelves at his Feet with horrid Cries, 'have perſuaded him of their ſuffering great Wrongs, when in rea-'lity they have been the Wrong-doers. And his Perſon being ſel-'dom, or never acceſſible to hear long Diſcourſes, it hath been ſcarce

'poſſible

'poſſible to take off a bad Impreſſion once made on him, as will 'appear by what follows.

'The Pretence of detaining the Capitulations, was given by a 'Jew. This Fellow had pawned to an *Engliſh* Merchant ſome Goods, 'part Merchandize, and part wearing Apparel, and Jewels, which, 'he not being able to redeem them, were quite eat up. The Mer-'chant, who had them, was gone out of the Country. This Rogue 'Jew wanting Bread, ſo poor as ready to ſtarve, and finding by 'many Examples, that, if he made Noiſe enough, and a large Pre-'tence, he ſhould be ſure to get ſomewhat, makes a Demand againſt 'two Merchants that were the Aſſigns of him who was gone, pre-'tending that they had his Goods, and that they were a great deal 'more than in Reality they were; but not being able to make out 'any Thing, of all that he ſaid before the Judge of *Smyrna*, he 'goes up to *Conſtantinople*, and there obtains Commands from the 'Vizier, and brings up the Merchants to Juſtice before the Vizier; 'which doubtleſs he then would have avoided by making Compo-'ſition with them. For when they came there, the Jew was not 'ready with his Witneſſes, to prove that they were Aſſigns to the 'Merchants, to whom he had pawned his Goods, ſaying they were 'at *Smyrna*, and other frivolous Excuſes; upon which they obtained 'Leave to return to *Smyrna*, leaving two others to anſwer for them, 'when the Jew ſhould appear, as it was thought he never would.

'But not long after, having provided Rogues like himſelf, to be 'Witneſſes for him, a Day was appointed for our Merchants to ap-'pear, and defend the Suit. And they, knowing he depended on 'his Witneſſes, thought (very unadviſedly) to invalidate them by the 'aforeſaid Article in the Capitulations, ſo thereupon they were pro-'duced in Court, and the Vizier without Doubt took hold of this, 'as an Opportunity waited for, and ordered the Capitulations to be 'left, that he might conſider the Force of that Article at Leiſure. 'But when they were demanded again, the Anſwer was, that the 'Viſier perceived many Things in them, which he ſuppoſed were 'obtained by Corruption in former Times without the Grand Sig-'nor's Knowledge, ſo that he would take Time to ſhew them to the 'Grand Signor, and know his Pleaſure concerning them.

'This being taken into Conſideration, his malicious Nature be-'ing known, and leſt he ſhould work ſome great Miſchief, Over-'tures were made to his Under-officers; and it was found that 'Money was his Aim. And under eighteen thouſand Dollars the 'Matter would not be accommodated. This Payment was yielded to as 'the leſſer Evil, and after Performance the Capitulations were re-'ſtored: What became of the Jew, I cannot ſay poſitively; but I

'think he got ſomething for his Pretences alſo. The very ſame 'thing happened ſince to the *Dutch*, and to our laſt Advices, is 'ſtill depending, and like to coſt a great deal of Money. But they 'propoſe to have their Capitulations renewed into the Bargain, which 'is very neceſſary for them, it not having been done in fifty Years.

Reflections.

'IT was a great Unhappineſs, that the Nakedneſs of our Capitu-'lations in this Particular ſhould be expoſed. Certainly it was 'more eligible to have paid a good Sum, than to have diſputed 'this Point, unleſs the Succeſs had been ſecured by ſome Intelligence 'beforehand. For it muſt be acknowledged, that the Expreſſions 'are ambiguous; it might have been plainer expreſſed, that no 'Witneſs ſhould be received againſt us, but that could not be obtained, 'nor ever can be, becauſe they reckon it a Diſgrace to their Reli-'gion, that *Chriſtians* ſhould reject the Teſtimony of all *Turks*, as 'well as others, as not credible: But granted in ſuch ambiguous 'Terms as they were, ſerved our Turns in inferior Courts effectually, 'and before the Vizier alſo, when we had ſecured his Favour. It 'is acknowledged by all, that formerly the *Engliſh* were very tender 'in producing their Capitulations in that Point, even before Viziers, 'who were commended for Juſtice, and Humanity; and it appears 'by the late ill Succeſs, that the Policy was reaſonable, and therefore 'it will be very neceſſary to be cautious for the future in this Par-'ticular; either to beſpeak Favour underhand by Preſents, or defend 'by Objections to the Witneſſes, which, however in themſelves not 'valid to ſet aſide their Teſtimony, yet with the Help of the Ca-'pitulations may bring the Witneſſes under the Notion of *Violett*, 'or falſe Witneſs.

'But after all, it muſt be acknowledged barbarous to detain the Capi-'tulations; all the Excuſe, the Vizier can make, if he be called to an Ac-'count, is that it was but to conſider them, with Intentions to re-'ſtore them; and becauſe he thought fit an Explanation ſhould be 'made of that doubtful Expreſſion, for the Grand Signor's Service, 'and common Juſtice's Sake, which Explanation, if any ſuch had 'been, muſt have been of far worſe Conſequence than the Price of 'redeeming them; therefore it was wiſely done to prevent it by 'this Ranſom. It may reaſonably be feared, that any Complaint of 'this Matter to the Grand Signor, or Grand Vizier, would bring the ſame 'Queſtions upon the Stage again, which, without a greater Price, in all 'likelihood, would not be determined for our Advantage.

The

The ſixth Avania, *now depending, being for Demands made by a late Baſha of* Tunis.

'FOR the better underſtanding of this *Avania*, it is neceſſary to 'ſay ſomewhat of the Government the *Turks* have upon the 'Coaſts of *Barbary*. Ever ſince the *Turks* loſt their Power at Sea, 'and forbore ſending out their mighty Fleets beyond the *Archipelago*, 'they loſt all their Command upon the *African* Coaſt beyond *Egypt*. 'Not that the *Moors* ever drove out their Garriſons, or rebelled; but 'their own Soldiers, that were in Garriſon, maintained what they 'had in Charge for themſelves; ſetting up tumultuous Common-'wealths, with which they have ſubſiſted ever ſince. But they ſtill 'acknowledge the Grand Signor, by yearly Preſents to him, and re-'ceiving titular Officers and Commanders from him. And, without 'this, they could not have ſubſiſted; for out of his Territories they 'have Supplies of Men, when their Occaſions require. And, did 'they not, in ſome meaſure, depend upon him, he would not permit 'them that Recourſe.

'This is the Occaſion of the *Baſha's* travelling between *Conſtantinople* 'and *Tunis*, which Paſſage is left to him to procure, for his own 'Safety, the beſt he can: And, commonly, he gets thither well enough; 'but is often put to it in his Return, when he is loaded with the 'Spoils of his Government.

'The preſent *Baſha*, being deſtitute of his Paſſage homewards, up-'on the Arrival of his Succours, freighted an *Engliſh* Ship, then in 'the Port of *Tunis*, to bring him as far as *Seio*; and, accordingly, 'embarked with all he had: But, before they had ſailed far, a Ship 'of *Leghorn*, a Privateer in *Corſo* againſt the *Turks*, gave them Chaſe; 'whereupon, knowing that, in caſe they could not eſcape her, ſhe 'would take out the *Turks*, and all they had, as good Prize, they 'made to a Shore, and, before the Privateer could come up with them, 'ſet the *Baſha* and his Men aſhore; but the Ship was afterwards car-'ried to *Malta*, and pillaged of all the *Turks* Goods that were in 'her. Advice hereof arriving in *England*, about the Time that Sir 'John Finch was going out Ambaſſador for *Conſtantinople*, it was 'thought fit that he ſhould call at *Leghorn* and *Malta*, to procure 'Reſtitution of thoſe Goods ſo taken out of an *Engliſh* Ship, which 'was feared might be demanded of the *Engliſh* in *Turky*. Accord-'ing to which, his Excellency calling at *Leghorn*, met there with a 'Turk ſent thither by the *Baſha*, to look after his Goods; unto 'whom, by his Lordſhip's Aſſiſtance, ſeveral Goods, Money, and

'Slaves,

'Slaves, were returned: And, calling at *Malta*, had ſeveral Goods 'from thence likewiſe delivered to the *Turk*; all which Goods, to-'gether with his Lordſhip's, he carried into the *Levant* upon his 'own Ship, and delivered them to the *Baſha*, who, though very glad 'to receive what he had, yet complained ſtill to want a great deal, 'and often urged his Lordſhip to get the ſame likewiſe returned; but 'was not ſo impudent then to pretend, the Ambaſſador was liable to 'make them good, as now he doth.

'This *Baſha* was ſoon after ſent to govern on the farther Part of '*Egypt*, near *Ethiopia*, whence it was hoped he would never return; 'his Lordſhip always apprehending ſome Trouble might come from 'him, eſpecially ſince the Time of this Vizier *Azem*, who hath ſo 'willingly heard all manner of Complaints againſt the *Franks*, as 'hath been ſince found. This Baſha, returning to *Conſtantinople*, did 'not, as formerly, deſire the Ambaſſador would procure the Reſtitu-'tion of his remaining Goods, but poſitively demanded them of him; 'alledging them to be far more than he had ever before pretended, 'and indeed more than poſſibly could be.

'His Excellency was not wanting in uſing all Means to give the 'Vizier a true Account of all the Buſineſs; whereupon a private 'Hearing was ordered of the Ambaſſador and Baſha before ſome of 'the principal Officers of the Vizier. At which his Excellency made 'appear all that he had done at *Leghorn* and *Malta*, and the Goods 'thereon reſtored, which was Courteſy, and not Obligation. So that 'the Vizier's Officers were ſo far ſatisfied of the Reaſon on the Am-'baſſador's Part, that the *Reis Effendi* promiſed to give the Vizier 'full Satisfaction therein; and that he would engage, for two Pur-'ſes, that is, a thouſand Dollars, he ſhould never more hear there-'of: Which Sum was promiſed to be paid, when the Vizier 'ſhould call for an Hearing of the Buſineſs, and conclude in favour 'of the *Engliſh*.

'Some time paſſed before a Day of Hearing was appointed; which 'being come, the Vizier, having the chief Judge by him, heard the 'Baſha at large, who made his Pretences on the *Engliſh* Nation in 'general, ſaying, that the *Engliſh* Conſul in *Tunis* invited him to 'freight the *Engliſh* Ship, and engaged to him, that he ſhould be 'ſafely tranſported; alſo he ſaid, that when he met the Privateer, he 'would have fought, and not forſaken the Ship, but the Captain 'would not ſuffer him; ſaying, he ſhould not loſe any thing. Then 'he denied that any thing had been reſtored to him, diſowning the '*Turk* he had ſent to *Leghorn* to be any Servant of his; but withal 'ſaid, that the Ambaſſador, when he came firſt, and dined with 'him, had told him that all his Goods were recovered, and that he

'ſhould

'ſhould have them reſtored to him. Then he gave a Liſt of his 'Goods, which the Vizier ordered to be interpreted to the Ambaſ-'ſador; whereunto the Ambaſſador anſwered, *That he knew nothing* '*of it.* The firſt thing the Vizier ſaid, was, *Tell the Ambaſſador,* '*that he is here to anſwer for the Blood and Eſtates of all* Muſſul-'men *that ſuffer by Default of the* Engliſh; and bad him give his 'Anſwer to it. My Lord replied, *That the Grand Signor himſelf* '*could not ſecure his Ships from* Corſairs, *nor Caravans from the* 'Arabs, *and that againſt Thieves only Heaven can protect.* The 'Vizier told the Baſha, *That he ſhould make legal Proof of what he* '*ſaid, and he would find him a Paymaſter.* The chief Judge ſaid, '*He muſt make particular Proof of every Parcel, that it was con-*'*ſigned and accepted*; which was almoſt impoſſible to be done. Then 'a *Fetſa* was produced, that an Obligation to recover Goods from '*Corſairs* or Thieves, or loſt, is not valid; and that no one is re-'ſponſible for more than he ſhall really recover. After much Diſ-'courſe, both Parties were diſmiſſed without any Determination. At 'firſt, when the Judge took his Book to write, as is uſual when they 'judge Caſes, the Vizier ſaid, *It is a long Buſineſs, and he need not* '*write any thing, but hear it diſcourſed.* The Vizier, all the while, 'was ſometimes ſharp upon us, and ſometimes on the *Baſha*; ſo 'that we parted not without Hopes. But, in the Afternoon, the 'Vizier's *Kaia* ſent for the *Dragoman*, and told him this was too 'great a Matter to be paſſed over without a Preſent; and that a 'Jewel of fifteen Purſes was to be the Vizier's *Regalio:* And my 'Lord had two Days Time to conſider of it. To this my Lord re-'turned Anſwer, *That, as an Ambaſſador, he would not treat for a* '*Farthing*; *but, as a Gentleman, he would not be ungrateful, when the* '*Buſineſs was concluded.* To which, all the Anſwer the *Kaia* gave, 'was, *He knows beſt.* In this manner the Buſineſs had continued 'about twenty-four Days, when the *Dragoman*, going to the Vizier's '*Kaia* about other Buſineſs, he aſked why the Money for the Baſha 'of *Tunis*'s Buſineſs was not ſent; that the Vizier would acquaint 'the Grand Signor with it, *&c.* And ſo it hung till the laſt Advices: 'And the Opinion of the Merchants there was generally, that, in 'caſe the Vizier's Mouth be not ſtopped, but that he be left to bring 'it about again, the *Avania* may be very ſevere: But the Ambaſſa-'dor, having been blamed by the Company for other Compoſitions, 'ſays, he is reſolved to ſtand this out, and ſee the utmoſt the Grand 'Vizier will do in it: And ſo it depends.'

Reflections.

Reflections.

'THE Pretence of the Baſha of *Tunis*, though moſt unjuſt, yet was foreſeen would prove troubleſome; which made the Company take care to procure Reſtitution: And, though the good Vizier ſeemed ſatisfied with what the *Engliſh* had done, yet the Baſha murmured; and it was foreſeen, ſome Years before his Return, that, if ever he came back in this Vizier's Time, he would revive the Suit: Therefore, it had been prudent to have accepted the firſt Offers, which, in *Turky*, are always cheapeſt, and procured Diſcharges from the *Baſha*; which would have been a Precedent for the Time to come.

'This Caſe had been better defended, if the *Engliſh* had not at all meddled to get Reſtitution of any Part of the Goods; for the *Turks* build all their Arguments from thence—*That he took the Nation to be bound to do it—That he might have got Reſtitution of all, as eaſily as of Part*—And as for the Diſcourſe and Promiſes of the Ambaſſador, though falſe and unjuſt, yet they gave a Colour to their Proceedings; ſo that, for the future, it will be neceſſary to avoid all intermeddling of that kind, and not to come in their Way, though to do them Courteſies; for they will never acknowledge any, but raiſe Pretences on all poſſible Occaſions.'

A Continuation of the farther Proceedings in the Avanious Demand of the Tunis *Baſha, and its final Concluſion; with an Account of another* Avania, *and the Law Suit about the* Miſteria *Privilege; with ſome Paſſages following upon the Defeat at* Vienna; *all which Matters, being of like Nature with the former, are here added, as they were extracted from other Correſpondencies from the ſame Houſe at* Conſtantinople.

'THE Viſier *Azem* having made his Demand of fifteen Purſes, to determine that Demand in favour of the *Engliſh*; which Sum the *Turks* thought little, to free ſo great a Demand; and the *Engliſh* thought it too much to give on ſo falſe a Pretence; and the *Turks*, finding they could faſten nothing certain on us, but good Words, *That the Buſineſs being done, we would not be ungrateful*; the Vizier again calls the Ambaſſador to Juſtice, with intention, to all

'all appearance, really to condemn us in ſome very conſiderable Sum, 'which, between him and the Grand Signor, ſhould have been eaten 'up, and the Baſha get but little.

'When we were come to Juſtice in the Vizier's Houſe, the Baſha 'makes a double Demand againſt us of a thouſand Purſes of Mo- 'ney, ſpecifying the Particulars, till the Vizier cried, *Hold*; *it is* 'enough; and yet the Baſha cried, *He had yet farther Demands.* 'The Vizier demands the Ambaſſador's Anſwer; which was, in ſhort, 'to deny all, and to argue that we were not liable to anſwer ſo un- 'juſt a Demand. But, after all we could ſay, we had certainly been 'condemned, but that the Ambaſſador found out an Expedient to 'demand Time to acquaint the King of *England* therewith; for which 'end a convenient Time was granted.

'The demanding Time, in *Turky*, is commonly, by the *Turkiſh* 'Officers, underſtood as if the Party had a mind to compound with 'them. And certainly ſo the Grand Vizier underſtood it; which 'made him grant it ſo eaſily: But afterwards, finding ſoon how he 'was fruſtrated, I believe he heartily repented of it. Soon after, came 'Advices to *Conſtantinople* of Sir *John Finch*'s being recalled, and 'my Lord *Chandois* going to ſucceed him, who would bring Letters, 'in Anſwer to his Demand, from his Majeſty; which Advice the 'Ambaſſador ſent to Court, and thereby ſtopped all Proceedings.

'A Vizier is, in ſome meaſure, afraid of an Ambaſſador, till he 'hath had his Audience of the Grand Signor, where he may eaſily 'and unavoidably complain of him; which Audience being once 'paſt, it is very hard for an Ambaſſador to make Complaints; be- 'cauſe the Vizier hath all his Creatures about the Grand Signor: So 'that nothing can be done without attempting deſperate means, which 'Ambaſſadors, eſpecially of rich Nations, do not, but on very great 'Exigencies, attempt. My Lord *Chandois* arrives at *Conſtantinople*, 'and brings from his Majeſty of *England* to the Vizier, and to the 'Grand Signor, Letters of two ſorts; one to be delivered, in caſe 'the Vizier did not comply, of an high Nature; and the other, as 'uſual, of Ceremony only, to be delivered, in caſe all went well.

'In the firſt Audience with the Vizier, the Ambaſſador Lord *Chan-* '*dois* delivers the high Letter from his Majeſty to the Vizier, which 'the Vizier read over all himſelf; and made no other Reply thereto, 'only bid him welcome. In this Letter of his Majeſty to the Vizier, 'he found his *Avanias* laid open, and the King of *England* demand- 'ing Juſtice for the Detention of the Capitulations, a Thing of an 'high Nature; at which he was ſtrangely ſurprized: For, though it 'was not imputed to him, but his *Kaia* (who had been ſtrangled a 'little before) yet the Vizier, to clear himſelf thereof, ordered three

'hundred Purſes, or an hundred and fifty thouſand Dollars, to be 'paid to the Treaſurer by the *Jew* his Merchant, which was the 'Sum the Vizier received. The *Jew* pretended it was the dead '*Kiaia*'s Money; but we knew well it was paid out of the Vizier's 'own Treaſury; and the Vizier ordered the Ambaſſador not to ſay a 'Word more of that Matter. The Money was received with all Joy 'by the Ambaſſador and Nation, as an happy Omen (being the Am-'baſſador's firſt Negotiation) that all Succeſſes would be as proſper-'ous: But there wanted not amongſt us ſome who feared the ill 'Conſequences, which ſhortly after we found, paying too dear for 'this Money.

'In the ſame Letter his Majeſty told the Vizier, that he had ex-'amined into the Demand of the Baſha of *Tunis*; in which he 'found all Falſeneſs and Ingratitude; and that, after ſo great Kind-'neſs as freeing his Goods from Pirates of *Malta* and *Leghorn*, which 'he neither was nor could be obliged to do; he therefore required 'to have the Baſha exemplarily puniſhed, for making ſo unreaſonable 'and falſe a Demand. This Letter had the deſired Effect; for the 'Vizier wholly diſmiſt that Buſineſs; which, I think, was all. But, 'ſince the *Tunis* Baſha is dead, and his Heirs made the ſame Claim, 'which is overcome, and a *Quietus* obtained; which hath removed 'all Fears of farther Trouble from it.

'Hitherto all goes well, and on our Side: But the King's Men of 'War, with the old Ambaſſador, being departed, the Grand Vizier 'began to recollect with himſelf, how he had been deceived of his 'Hopes by us, firſt in loſing ſo great a Sum, as he expected, out 'of the *Tunis* Baſha's Buſineſs; and, ſecondly, in refunding ſuch a 'Sum as three hundred Purſes, which he had kept ſo long in his 'Maw; and, therefore, reſolved Revenge upon us: And, conſulting 'his Jackals, the great Cuſtomers of *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*, he 'was by them put into the following Way.

A ſeventh Avania *of about three* per Cent. *Cuſtom of Silk outward.*

'IN *Turky*, as in all Countries, the Importer pays one Cuſtom, and 'the Exporter another; but, at *Smyrna*, to avoid ſtealing of Cuſ-'tom, which the *Franks* performed more cunningly than the People 'of the Country, the *Turks* found it leaſt liable to Cheats, to receive 'the exporting Cuſtom of the Seller; ſo that the *Frank*, by his own 'Hands, as Exporter, pays no Cuſtom. But, in the Form of the

'Capitulations,

'Capitulations, we are to pay three *per Cent.* Cuſtom outwards, as 'well as inwards. Upon which foot, the Vizier demands three *per* 'Cent. on all Silk that had been ſhipped in five Years Time laſt paſt; 'which Account would have produced near two hundred Purſes of 'Money, or an hundred thouſand Dollars. The Vizier, having 'had ſo ill Succeſs in meddling with the Ambaſſador himſelf, 'thought fit to ſend him word, he had nothing to ſay to him, but, 'the Cuſtomer demanding againſt the Merchants, he muſt and would 'do him Juſtice. Upon this account, the Ambaſſador is ſent for to the 'Vizier's, with poſitive Orders to bring all his Merchants with him; 'which he was forced to obey; and there found many of the great 'Officers of the Empire.

'The *Turks* at firſt were very civil to the Ambaſſador, declaring 'that this was the Cuſtomer's Demand againſt the Merchants, in 'which the Vizier muſt do Juſtice. The *Kaia* went into another 'Apartment to the Grand Vizier; and, returning to the Ambaſſador, 'declared, that the Vizier had ordered the Merchants to be put in 'Priſon, till they paid the Cuſtom of Silk exported. To which the 'Cuſtomer replied, there was no Occaſion for ſuch a Crowd, two of 'the chief were enough. So two Merchants of the chief Houſe were 'ſeized by the *Chiauſes*. The Ambaſſador urged what was poſſible 'to be alledged in our Defence, but could not be effectual; when, 'taking one of them by the Hand, he had great Affronts put upon 'him; which farther to prevent, they ſtole away with their *Chiauſes*; 'and his Lordſhip retired to his Houſe, hoping Time would ſhew 'ſome Remedy to this deſperate Buſineſs.

'But, to ſhew how great an Height of Irreligion the *Turks* are 'come to, in acting this Violence contrary to their own Law, take 'this Paſſage, which happened to one of the Merchants, who was 'a chief Actor in this Affair. He finding that, with his Companion, 'he was going to Priſon, which, in *Turky*, is extreme bad, and the 'Priſoners expoſed to great Cruelties and Tortures, thought beſt to 'ſay ſomewhat for himſelf; and thereupon he cried out, in the *Turk-* 'iſh Language, *That the Vizier* Azem's *Command was to put the* 'Silk Merchants *in Priſon for Cuſtom due from them; and that he* 'was no Silk Merchant, *and had never ſhipt any, and appealed to* 'their Law. Now, the *Turkiſh* Religion hath this Article in it, 'that the *Turk*, who refuſeth to go to the Law, when required, is 'divorced from his Wife, his Children are Baſtards, and he an In- 'fidel. All the great Officers were ſtartled at this Appeal; but the 'Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*, with great Threats, told the Merchant 'that he would prove it upon him; and ſo bid the Officers carry 'him away, which they did.

'They continued in Priſon, in all, forty-two Days; in which 'time there wanted not Treaties to accommodate the Buſineſs, which, 'at laſt, with utmoſt Difficulty, was concluded, by Payment of an 'hundred and ten Purſes, or fifty-five thouſand Dollars. The Mer-'chants continued tolerably in Health thirty-eight Days, when one 'of them, he that had appealed to the Law, fell ill; and, upon Oc-'caſion of the Ambaſſador's Interpreter coming to him, he ſaid to 'the Interpreter, in *Turkiſh*, *That he would not die there: If he 'ought any Man any thing, he would pay him: If he had done any 'Crime, let his Head fly: Since the Ambaſſador could not free him, 'he had Slaves in his Houſe, and he would ſend one of them with an '* Arze *to the Grand Signor.* This was thought, conſidering the 'Spies that conſtantly attended them, to contribute not a little to a 'ſpeedy Concluſion; for, in two or three Days time after, they were 'freed.

'To demonſtrate farther the precipitate Violence of *Cara Muſtapha*, 'I will add what happened to the chief *Dutch* Merchant and Se-'cretary to the Ambaſſador, Signor *de Bruſſes.* He had a Demand on 'a *Greek* for a thouſand Dollars, for which he was forced to carry 'him before the Vizier, where, making ſome ſmall Miſtake, the Vizier 'ſaid he was a Cheat. To which he replied, *That* Franks *uſe not 'to make falſe Demands.* The Vizier underſtanding that to reflect 'on *Turks*, as ſaying, they did, was ſo angry, that he immediately 'ordered him two hundred Drubs on the bare Feet, in public Di-'van, of which he had an hundred and eighty; and it was thought 'he never recovered it, for ſoon after he died.

An Account of the Miſteria *Privilege in* Turky, *by the Merchant impriſoned, and who appealed to the Law, as above.*

'THE *Miſteria* is a Duty of one *per Cent.* upon all Goods by 'Meaſure, and one and an half upon all Goods ſold by Weight. 'This lies very heavy on ſome Goods, and was exacted very trou-'bleſomely on our *Engliſh* Merchants, eſpecially for their Lead and 'Tin.

'A *Jew* was Farmer of this Duty in *Tikerdag*, a little City near '*Conſtantinople.* This Man, having to do with *Armenians*, had 'great Conteſts with them; and the better to fortify himſelf in his 'Demands, and to get the Duty of them, ſought to get the *Barratt*

* An irreſiſtible Appeal to the Grand Signor with Fire, to be, on failing of Right, Capital.

'itſelf,

'itſelf, which is the Patent of the *Miſteri-aga* of *Galata*, and the 'Order or Warrant of the Duty; but they, that had it, would by no 'means produce it. This *Jew*, being a cunning Fellow, and re-'ſolving, if poſſible, to get the better, whatever it coſt him, applied 'to the Grand Signor's chief Page, called *Sellectar-aga*; and, by 'laying out about two hundred Dollars in ſmall agreeable Preſents, 'he obtains an authentic Copy of the *Miſteri-aga*'s *Barratt*. But 'it ſtood him in no ſtead; for it did not contain any Warrant for his 'Claim againſt the *Armenians*.

'Upon this, he was much offended, and, finding his Money 'thrown away to no Purpoſe, deſired, by any means, to get ſome of 'it back again. In order to which, he applied himſelf to me, whom 'he thought he might ſafely truſt; and, by making ſome ſmall Diſco-'veries to me, as he thought might well turn to account, for what 'he might receive for his Pains, not imagining, as was believed, that 'the Import was ſo great as it proved, obtained a Promiſe of a rea-'ſonable Reward, and left the Book with me. I, for diverſe Weeks 'together, ſtrictly examined it, and, in ſo doing, was much ſur-'prized to find how the Nation was abuſed, by being made to pay 'ſharp Duties, without any Title or Warrant: And, thereupon, I 'acquainted the Ambaſſador and the Nation with this Diſcovery, and 'the Evidence I had, by an authentic Copy of the *Barratt*; and 'thereupon the Ambaſſador gave the *Jew* a Reward of an hundred 'Dollars; and it proved the ſaving to the Nation of above two thou-'ſand five hundred Dollars *per Annum*, in that Place; for, in ſeveral 'Law-Suits before the *Kaimacham*, *Cadis*, *&c.* we obtained Sentence 'in our Favour.

'It may not be amiſs to relate the Manner of our Proceeding: The '*French* Ambaſſador, at his Audience, ſought an Article to ſettle the '*Miſteria*, which much ſtartled me; for I concluded, if it were ſet-'tled by Capitulation with one *Frank* Nation, they would hear no-'thing againſt it from others; and thereupon I communicated this 'grand Secret to a *French* Merchant, and ſhewed him what might 'be gained by Law, and how their Article would deprive them of 'that Advantage. The Monſieur was ſenſible, and wrote to the Am-'baſſador ſo as ſtopt the Proceeding in that Point. Our Ambaſſador, 'underſtanding this, was in a moſt furious Rage with me, as if I 'had diſcloſed the Secrets of his Nation. But I gave him Reaſon, 'upon Conſideration of which he was ſatisfied.

'After this, I called the *Miſteri-aga* to Law, and the Cauſe came 'at laſt to hearing before the Vizier. He refuſed to compel the *Aga* 'to ſhew his *Barratt*, as giving Opportunity to pick Holes in it; 'but

'but ſaid, *If you would know any particular Matters, I will ſearch* 'and tell you. Then I aſked what Duty I was to pay for----; the 'Aga demanded----------; and it was, upon Search, found 'to be but----------: Difference enough; and the Vizier or- 'dered that to be the Rate. Then, having this Encouragement, I 'came to my main Point; *Sir*, ſaid I, *I have brought in great Quan-* 'tities of Lead and Tin, neceſſary for the Wars, at a Time when you 'cannot be without it. The Vizier took good Notice of that Lead 'and Tin, and, ſearching, found it to pay but----------At 'which the *Aga* was much ſtartled, for he demanded, and uſed to 'receive----------This was a thing ſo unexpected to both 'the Vizier and *Aga*, that they fell to ſearching the *Barratt* over 'and over again; but, after all, could find no other Rate: Where- 'upon, Sentence went accordingly; to which the Conjuncture of the 'Wars did not a little contribute. But, all this while, the Copy was 'a great Secret, and ſo ought to continue among the Merchants for 'ever; for it ſerves only to point out the weak Places. And, if the 'Copy had then been ſhewed, it would have been taken from them, 'and Means found to trace the Deliverer, and the *Jew*, as well as his 'Friend, have ſuffered fatally for it.

'This Service I did the Company and Nation in *Turky*; and, in 'my Return, expected their Acknowledgments in ſome honorary 'Way; but, ſo far from that, I have not had common Thanks, and 'ſcarce good Looks; which confirms an old Leſſon, that *He, who* 'ſerves a Community, muſt ſecure a Reward by his own Means, or 'expect it from God.

Some Paſſages ſince the cutting off Cara Muſtapha, *and his ill Management of the* Hungarian *War*; *by the ſame Merchant.*

'ORDERS were ſent to *Belgrade*, (where, after the Rout at 'Vienna, he was retreated) for taking off his Head; and, at 'the ſame time, to *Conſtantinople*, by the great Maſter of the Horſe, 'for ſeiſing all his Eſtate; which was done with great Rigour.

'This Maſter of the Horſe (now Vizier) was an old Friend to our 'Nation; which diſpoſed the Ambaſſador to wait on him, telling 'him how barbarouſly we had been treated, and inſtanced in divers 'Particulars. *Sullaman Aga*, as he was called, deſired theſe might 'be liſted, and given to him, ſaying he would ſhew it to the Grand 'Signor; which was ſo done, and, among others, the Liſt ſhewed 'that of *Pentloe*'s Eſtate, that imported two hundred and ten thou-

'ſand

'ſand Dollars. The Grand Signor, on Sight of the Liſt, ordered 'that, due Proofs being made, the Heirs of the Vizier ſhould be made 'to give Satisfaction. So all ſeemed hopeful, and very fair.

'But that putting us upon Proofs was, in Truth, as much as to 'ſay we ſhould have nothing; for, to bring legal Witneſs was next 'to impoſſible. Our own *Dragomen* and Servants were Chriſtians, 'whoſe Teſtimony paſſeth not againſt *Turks*; then, ſuch bribing ty-'ranniſing Buſineſſes are always acted underhand, with all Privacy; 'ſo that few or none but the very Actors know of them. And, di-'verſe times, the Vizier's Money was aſſigned to *Jews*, whoſe Teſti-'mony alſo will not paſs; and the Actors were the Vizier's Creatures, 'who, on his Death, were generally diſperſed: So that there is no 'Proof left, except *Uſine Aga*, the great Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*. 'This Man could teſtify all, and find other Witneſſes; but never 'will be perſuaded to it.'

Memorandums of ſome Things that paſſed in the Tranſactions at Adrianople 1675, *when Sir* John Finch *had his Audience of the Grand Signor, and renewed the Capitulations.*

'AT Sir *John Finch*'s firſt Arrival at *Adrianople*, he was infinite-'ly diſpleaſed with his *Conack* (or Lodging) it being neither 'for Honour nor Convenience fit for his Lordſhip's Reception; the 'Fault of which was imputed to Signor *Antonio Perone*, his ſecond '*Dragoman*, who had been there almoſt two Months before, chiefly 'for the providing his Lordſhip's honourable Reception and Conve-'nience there. His Lordſhip's Anger proceeded to that height againſt 'Signor *Antonio*, that he vowed, with the moſt execrable Proteſta-'tions, never to be reconciled, nor to ſuffer him to ſtay in Town; 'but threatened to warn him, in twenty-four Hours, to be gone for '*Conſtantinople*, elſe he would have him drubbed. Signor *Antonio* 'took no farther notice thereof, but retired to his private Lodging, 'and gave out, that his Affairs required him at *Conſtantinople*, whi-'ther he was ready to go. Signor *Georgio Drapieres*, the chief '*Dragoman*, the next Day, by Order from Court, had a better 'Houſe, belonging to a *Jew*, emptied, whither his Excellency re-'moved; ſtill keeping the other alſo for Servants, *&c.* which ſome-'what appeaſed: Then, after the End of three Days, Mr. *Hyat* ad-'viſed Signor *Antonio* to humble himſelf to my Lord, and ask his 'Pardon. He went preſently, and did it; and my Lord immediately 'forgave all, and took him into as full Grace and Favour as ever.

'His

'but ſaid, *If you would know any particular Matters, I will ſearch* '*and tell you.* Then I aſked what Duty I was to pay for----; the '*Aga* demanded----------; and it was, upon Search, found 'to be but----------: Difference enough; and the Vizier or-'dered that to be the Rate. Then, having this Encouragement, I 'came to my main Point; *Sir*, ſaid I, *I have brought in great Quan-*'*tities of Lead and Tin, neceſſary for the Wars, at a Time when you* '*cannot be without it.* The Vizier took good Notice of that Lead 'and Tin, and, ſearching, found it to pay but----------At 'which the *Aga* was much ſtartled, for he demanded, and uſed to 'receive----------This was a thing ſo unexpected to both 'the Vizier and *Aga*, that they fell to ſearching the *Barratt* over 'and over again; but, after all, could find no other Rate: Where-'upon, Sentence went accordingly; to which the Conjuncture of the 'Wars did not a little contribute. But, all this while, the Copy was 'a great Secret, and ſo ought to continue among the Merchants for 'ever; for it ſerves only to point out the weak Places. And, if the 'Copy had then been ſhewed, it would have been taken from them, 'and Means found to trace the Deliverer, and the *Jew*, as well as his 'Friend, have ſuffered fatally for it.

'This Service I did the Company and Nation in *Turky*; and, in 'my Return, expected their Acknowledgments in ſome honorary 'Way; but, ſo far from that, I have not had common Thanks, and 'ſcarce good Looks; which confirms an old Leſſon, that *He, who* '*ſerves a Community, muſt ſecure a Reward by his own Means, or* '*expect it from God.*

Some Paſſages ſince the cutting off Cara Muſtapha, *and his ill Management of the* Hungarian *War*; *by the ſame Merchant.*

'ORDERS were ſent to *Belgrade*, (where, after the Rout at '*Vienna*, he was retreated) for taking off his Head; and, at 'the ſame time, to *Conſtantinople*, by the great Maſter of the Horſe, 'for ſeiſing all his Eſtate; which was done with great Rigour.

'This Maſter of the Horſe (now Vizier) was an old Friend to our 'Nation; which diſpoſed the Ambaſſador to wait on him, telling 'him how barbarouſly we had been treated, and inſtanced in divers 'Particulars. *Sullaman Aga*, as he was called, deſired theſe might 'be liſted, and given to him, ſaying he would ſhew it to the Grand 'Signor; which was ſo done, and, among others, the Liſt ſhewed 'that of *Pentloe*'s Eſtate, that imported two hundred and ten thou-

'ſand

'ſand Dollars. The Grand Signor, on Sight of the Liſt, ordered 'that, due Proofs being made, the Heirs of the Vizier ſhould be made 'to give Satisfaction. So all ſeemed hopeful, and very fair.

'But that putting us upon Proofs was, in Truth, as much as to 'ſay we ſhould have nothing; for, to bring legal Witneſs was next 'to impoſſible. Our own *Dragomen* and Servants were Chriſtians, 'whoſe Teſtimony paſſeth not againſt *Turks*; then, ſuch bribing ty-'ranniſing Buſineſſes are always acted underhand, with all Privacy; 'ſo that few or none but the very Actors know of them. And, di-'verſe times, the Vizier's Money was aſſigned to *Jews*, whoſe Teſti-'mony alſo will not paſs; and the Actors were the Vizier's Creatures, 'who, on his Death, were generally diſperſed: So that there is no 'Proof left, except *Uſine Aga*, the great Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*. 'This Man could teſtify all, and find other Witneſſes; but never 'will be perſuaded to it.'

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'His Excellency, thus ſettled, called the Nation together, and adviſed with them, what new Articles he ſhould demand to be inſerted in the Capitulations; which being agreed upon, and turned into *Turkiſh*, they were ſent to the Vizier's *Kaia*, that they might be by him preſented to the Vizier, having firſt had the Advice of the *Reis Effendi* (or Chancellor as to acts of State) who had promiſed his Aſſiſtance in the Paſſing. The *Kaia* received them very favourably, giving the like fair Promiſes of his Aſſiſtance. Some Days after, the *Dragomen* ſolliciting for an Anſwer from the *Kaia*, and *Reis Effendi*; it was demanded whether, in the Article relating to the Cuſtom of Cloth, the Cloth of his own Nation only, or that of other Nations alſo, was intended; which his Excellency was glad to hear; and, to clear that Point fully, ſent them Word, that he meant it only for *Engliſh* Cloth, and was willing they ſhould except *Dutch*, *French*, and *Venetian*, expreſsly by Name, if they pleaſed. The *Dragomen*, continuing this Solicitation, were told, that Matter of the Articles muſt be conſulted with the *Teſtardar*, or chief Treaſurer; but the Grand Signor keeping then ſolemn Feaſts upon the Circumciſion of his Son, and Marriage of his Daughter, they muſt attend till thoſe were over, before any Buſineſs would be done, nor could they, but very ſeldom, during thoſe Feaſts, come to the Speech of either the *Kaia*, or *Reis Effendi*.

'The holy Sepulchre at *Jeruſalem*, for many Ages, had remained in the Cuſtody of the *Latins*; tho' all Sorts of *Chriſtians* had Permiſſion of ſaying their Maſs and Prayers there at certain Seaſons, and in a certain Courſe. Now there was a certain *Greek*, *Paniotache* by Name, who had ſerved the *Germans* for many Years as chief *Dragoman*, and, during the Wars in *Candia*, was in the Camp with the Vizier; where, being ſerviceable, he had obtained his Favour in a great Degree; and, taking his Times, inſinuated into the Vizier, that the *Greeks* were faithful Subjects of the *Turkiſh* Empire; whereas the *Latins*, or *Franks*, had Kingdoms and Empires, and lived in Hopes again to conquer, and poſſeſs the Holy Land, whenever they might be but at Peace among themſelves; and that this their Cuſtody of the Holy Sepulchre, was a kind of Footing, that they pretended to hold of their old Right. That among *Chriſtians*, the Cuſtody of that holy Place was looked on as a great Honour and Prerogative, and that it was much fitter for the Honour of the *Turkiſh* Empire, that their *Vaſſals*, who were faithful to them, and had no other Dependance, ſhould be honoured with it, rather than Strangers who, for the moſt Part, are in perpetual Hoſtility, and, at beſt, but falſe Friends. By

'ſuch

'ſuch Means he obtained privately (his own Nation knowing little 'thereof, until it was done) a ſolemn Grant of the Thing deſired, 'confirmed by the Grand Signor's own Signature. But, conſidering 'how he had been all along a Servant to the *Franks*, he enjoined 'the *Greeks*, not to make Uſe thereof, until after his Deceaſe, 'which, not long after the Vizier's Return from *Candia*, happened; 'when the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* took out Commands, and was 'put in Poſſeſſion of the Sepulchre, and the *Franks* drove out, with-'out being able by any Means to defend themſelves; tho' great Of-'fers of Money had been made, and all Endeavours uſed.

'The Friers of *Jeruſalem*, that attended this Buſineſs, deſirous 'to move every Stone that might be for their Advantage, hearing 'that his Lordſhip intended a Renewal of the Capitulations, were 'very deſirous to get an Article inſerted in their Favour, which, one 'Day, might be a Means for obtaining their Point. For they found 'that, in the Maintenance of the Privileges they had long enjoyed, 'and had many private Grants for, they wanted the ſolid Fund of a 'Nation, and an Embaſſador to ſtand up for them, which, in '*Turky*, are Things of a conſiderable Figure, and can at any Time 'preſs Buſineſs, when poor Friers cannot be heard; eſpecially thoſe 'that live in *Jeruſalem*, that are *Spaniards*, who have no Peace or 'Treaty with the *Turks*. Thereupon they applied to his Lordſhip, 'and ſhewed him the Article they deſired, both in *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, 'telling his Lordſhip that they would willingly ſpend, to have it inſerted 'in the Capitulations, the Sum of fifteen thouſand Dollars. Whereupon 'his Lordſhip procured a private Audience of the *Kaia*, and moved 'him in the Matter, who very kindly received him, and, when he 'moved the Matter relating to the *Frank* Friers, had very fair 'Words given him, and great Hopes that the ſame ſhould be ob-'tained; to ſuch a Degree that his Lordſhip thought the Buſineſs 'moſt eaſy to be done, and feared ſomebody elſe might get it be-'fore him, ſo he conjured the *Kaia*, that it ſhould not be granted 'to any other but himſelf.

'His Excellency then alſo treated about giving his Majeſty of '*England* the Title of *Padiſha*, as the *French* have in their Capi-'tulations. He received moſt civil and courteous Expreſſions from 'the *Kaia*, with great Promiſes, *&c.* But he was told that now, 'during the Feaſt, nothing could be treated of; but, as ſoon as they 'were over, he ſhould have all imaginable Diſpatch. Things ſtand-'ing thus, and the *Dragomen* taking all Opportunities to ſolicit, 'were often told by the *Kaia*, and *Reis*, that the Articles had been 'ſeveral Times read over to the Vizier, and that all were paſſed, only 'in the Article concerning ſecuring the Goods of *Engliſh* Principals, 'in the Hands of ſuch Factors as ſhould become *Turks*; whereas

'it was required, that *Chriſtian* Witneſs might paſs in ſuch Caſes, 'it could not be ſo granted; but the Proofs were put upon the 'Treaſurer's Books, and Bills of Lading, wherewith his Excellency 'was well ſatisfied.

'About this Time, when his Excellency intended another Viſit 'to the *Kaia*, the *Dragomen* were ſent for, and the *Kaia* told 'them, that the Grand Signor, having Occaſion to ſend an *Aga* 'to *Tunis* from *Smyrna*, it was deſired that he might be tranſported 'in an *Engliſh* Ship; to which Purpoſe, he required his Letter to the 'Conſul of *Smyrna*; which, tho' unwillingly, (yet not thinking it 'fit, in theſe Exigences, to deny what they muſt think ſo ſmall a 'Matter) his Lordſhip granted. But the Letter, being in ſuch gene-'ral Terms, and too indifferent, would not do at *Smyrna*, ſo the 'Meſſenger returned for a more poſitive Order; which alſo, on the 'ſame Reaſons, was granted, and the Buſineſs done. Hereupon his 'Excellency took Occaſion to mention the Buſineſs of *Tripoli*, and 'was promiſed, that the Vizier, by this Meſſenger, ſhould write ef-'fectually, as they ſaid he did; tho' no Letter was ſeen, but his Ex-'cellency, on his Part, wrote, by the ſaid *Turk*, a Letter to Sir *John* '*Narborough* to the ſame Purpoſe.

'The *Greek* Patriarch, having now got Knowledge of his Ex-'cellency's having undertaken the Buſineſs for the *Latin* Friers, came 'and demanded an Audience of his Lordſhip, wherein he laid down 'the ancient Protection the *Greeks* always had from the *Engliſh* Na-'tion, deſiring in like Manner his Lordſhip's Continuance thereof. 'Whereunto his Lordſhip replied with all Civility and fair Words, 'undertaking to adjuſt the Buſineſs between the *Franks* and them, 'provided they would ſtand to what was Right and Reaſon; where-'upon his Lordſhip had large Diſcourſe with them, entering into 'the particular Matters of the Buſineſs, ſtill arguing in Favour of 'the *Franks*, ſo that the *Greeks* went away with little Satisfaction. 'A few Days after, the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* wrote a Letter to 'his Excellency, wherein he pretended to be indiſpoſed, ſo that he 'could not attend his Lordſhip in Perſon, but deſired that Mr. *Covel*, 'our Miniſter, might be ſent to him, having ſome Things to diſ-'courſe, which were not proper for a Letter; at his coming, the 'Patriarch declared openly, that he well knew the Embaſſador, for 'a Sum of Money, had undertaken the *Latins* Part; but that he 'ſhould write to the King of *England*, and the Archbiſhop of *Can-'terbury*, from whom he doubted not, but his Lordſhip would re-'ceive as much Thanks for aſſiſting them as the others.

'About this Time alſo, Letters came from *England*, relating ſe-'vere Courſes againſt the *Roman Catholics*, and his Excellency much 'cooled in the Friers Buſineſs, and began to declare, that he would

'not

'not put their Article into the Capitulations; but he would endeavour 'to procure them another *Hatteſherif* in their Favour. At this the 'Friers were much troubled, and preſſed all they could to have it 'in the Capitulations, offering more Money; but, not being heard, 'were contented, it ſhould be as his Excellency pleaſed.

'His Excellency, during the Feaſts, ſent frequent Preſents of 'Wine of *Chriſtendom*, *&c.* to the *Kaia*, and to *Uſine Aga*, the great 'Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*; unto whom alſo his Lordſhip very 'much deſired to give a Treat at his Houſe, and often ſent to in-'vite him. But he never came, tho' he many Times promiſed it; 'and always, when he ſaw the *Dragomen*, either at the *Kaia's*, or 'elſewhere, he ſpoke moſt kindly to them, ſaluting the Embaſſa-'dor, *&c.* And once, the *Dragomen* paſſing by, he called them 'up, and told them, that all the Demands, his Excellency had made, 'were granted, and that henceforward, the King of *England* ſhould 'be called *Padiſha*, as well as the *French* King: But withal won-'dered, that they ſhould think ſuch Grants were to be obtained for 'nothing, and told them, Money was expected; whereupon the '*Dragomen* went to the *Reis*, and acquainted him therewith, who 'alſo confirmed the ſame to them, and farther ſaid, he underſtood 'the ſame from the *Kaia*. The *Dragomen* coming with this News 'to his Excellency, he rejoiced at it, taking it as a ſure Argument 'of the Succeſs of his Buſineſs, and next Day he ſent the *Dragomen* 'to the *Kaia*, and promiſed him one thouſand Chequines for the 'Vizier, one thouſand Dollars for himſelf, and the like for the *Reis*.

'In this Poſture the Buſineſs ſtood during the Feaſts. Until thoſe 'were over, there was no Hopes, either of Audience, or knowing 'any greater Certainty of our Buſineſs. However the *Dragomen* of-'ten went to the *Kaia*, and *Reis*, and always brought from them 'News, that all was granted, and that, when the Feaſts were over, 'his Lordſhip ſhould have his Audience, and be diſpatched. The 'Feaſts ended, and Applications were made for Diſpatch, and it 'was promiſed to be ſuddenly; but put off for ſome Weeks, till the 'Day of Pay * was come. During all which Time, Solicitations be-'ing alſo made concerning the Buſineſs, it was again reported, that 'ſome of the Articles muſt be ſhewed to the *Teſtardar*; which much 'diſpleaſed his Excellency, fearing *Uſine Aga* might have done ſome-'what prejudicial to the Cloth Article: Whereupon it was thought 'good (*Uſine Aga* never having come to his Lordſhip) that his Lord-'ſhip ſhould make him a Viſit, to ſee whether or not any Oppoſi-

* I think, Sir *Paul Rycaut* takes Notice, that the *Turks* pay their Officers their Salaries in the Preſence of ſome foreign Embaſſador; to the Intent that other Nations may be Witneſſes of the great Riches of the *Turkiſh* Empire, when they ſhall ſee four or five hundred thouſand Dollars upon the Table. This is what is meant here by the Pay Day.

'tion was to be feared from him; and, for the better Colour, his Ex-
'cellency pretended to diſcourſe him upon ſome Diſputes about the
'Cuſtom of Silk. After they had talked ſome time together, *Uſine*
'*Aga* told the Embaſſador, that he had to acquaint him as a Friend,
'of a Buſineſs, which was by Grant of the Grand Signor, and that
'was concerning the new Cuſtom-houſe at *Smyrna*, where all Ships
'were now ordered to come and unload, as at *Conſtantinople*; the
'which, he told his Excellency, it was in vain for the *Franks* to op-
'poſe, ſo counſelled him not to ſtir in it. Whereunto his Lordſhip
'replied very little, only that he had not yet any Cogniſance of the
'Caſe, but ſhould carry himſelf therein with all Juſtice and Mode-
'ration; and ſo they parted with great Profeſſions of mutual Kind-
'neſs.

'His Excellency, for better Countenance to the *Dragomen* in
'their Complaint of Delaying his Audience, wrote a Letter to the
'*Kaia*, preſſing Expedition, and deſiring to know if there was
'any Stop in his Buſineſs, and where it lay, declaring himſelf ready
'to argue any Point before the Vizier, with any one that ſhould op-
'poſe it; deſiring alſo his Counſel how he ſhould behave himſelf,
'and whether he would adviſe him to make any Applications di-
'rectly to the Vizier, or no; whereto the *Kaia* anſwered with all
'Kindneſs poſſible, that his Excellency ſhould not trouble himſelf,
'but that all was well, and granted; and that as ſoon as the *Teſtar-*
'*dar* could get Money ready for the Pay, my Lord ſhould have his
'Audience and Diſpatch.

'Pay-day came, and my Lord received his Audience with the
'uſual Formalities; then new Applications were made to the *Kaia*,
'for Diſpatch; and inſtead of finding all Things complete and done, it
'appeared that they had then only begun to read over the Articles,
'and to conſult what was fit to be done. This was moſt evident,
'in Regard the Paper, which his Excellency gave in with the Articles
'at firſt, could not be found for ſome Time. The *Kaia* and *Reis*
'putting the having thereof on one another; and, at laſt, after
'much Search, it was found in the Hands of a Page of the Vizier's.
'And, as for the Word *Padiſha*, my Lord was told poſitively, that
'the Grand Signor would not conſent that it ſhould be put in.
'After ſome Time, the Articles were brought to my Lord, as they
'were drawn up by the *Reis*, in Phraſe fit for the Capitulati-
'ons, which was with great Joy read over to his Excellency; but
'being ſhewed to the Vizier, he cauſed them to be wrote over again
'in two Papers, the one of which contained ſuch Articles, as had
'any Relation to the Revenue, as the Cuſtom of Cloth, Silk, *&c.*
'the which the Vizier cauſed to be ſent to the *Teſtardar* Baſha, to
'have his Opinion, whether it contained any Thing prejudicial to

'the

'the public Treaſure; but the others he gave with his *Beycardiſh* '(or Order) that they ſhould be wrote in the Capitulations. Here-'upon the *Dragomen* applied to the *Teſtardar*, and had many Con-'ferences with him. He demanded for what Reaſon they deſired 'theſe Articles, and why the Capitulations might not paſs as they 'had done hitherto. Whereto was replied, that it was that we 'might be at a Certainty, and not to fall every Day in Diſpute with 'ignorant and impertinent Cuſtomers. To that he, ſmiling, anſwered, 'that was not the Reaſon; our Intent was, to bring a finer Cloth 'than we did formerly, and to pay no more Cuſtom than for coarſe. 'However he promiſed to paſs it. He had ſome Diſcourſe alſo 'about the *Hatteſherif* of *Aleppo*, why it could not remain as it 'had done many Years, and that now it muſt needs be put into 'the Capitulations. However he reſted ſatisfied, and ſaid all ſhould 'paſs; but yet we had great Doubts and Fears; and the Buſineſs not 'being done, my Lord, the next Day, made another Viſit to the '*Kaia*, wherein his Excellency argued the Cloth Buſineſs, and 'gave in to the *Kaia* a Liſt of the extraordinary Cuſtom we paid 'on many other Goods; to all which the *Kaia* anſwered, that his 'Lordſhip need not doubt but the *Teſtardar* would paſs all, and 'the Buſineſs ſhould ſuddenly be done.

'At this Audience, his Lordſhip had ſome Diſcourſe likewiſe 'about the Word *Padiſha*, to which the *Kaia* anſwered, that it 'was juſt and reaſonable, and that he would move the Vizier again 'about it. Alſo his Excellency moved the *Kaia* in the Buſineſs of 'the Friers of *Jeruſalem*, to which the *Kaia* ſeemed eaſy, and 'deſired an *Arze*, or Petition, to move the Vizier thereon, which 'his Excellency, having ready, gave him, and he promiſed to deliver 'it to the Vizier *Azem*, and move him on their Behalf.

'Few Days after, the Articles being come to the *Reis*, and he 'having begun to ingroſs the Capitulations, the *Kaia* minded the '*Dragomen* of the Money they had promiſed, bidding them get it 'ready; which was accordingly done, and, by his Excellency's Or-'der, a Day was appointed for the Payment thereof. And becauſe 'the *Teſtardar* had ſo civilly paſſed the Articles, a Preſent was or-'dered by his Excellency for him, which the *Dragomen* and Trea-'ſurer going to deliver, they met the News of his being diſplaced (for 'he was made Baſha of Grand *Cairo)* ſo they returned, and 'ſaved that Preſent. The appointed Day for the Payment of the 'Money being come, the Treaſurer, and *Dragomen* went with the 'ſame, and finding the *Kaia* in the Vizier's Houſe, he told them, 'it was very well, but he would not meddle therewith before he had 'ſpoke with the Baſha. Thence they went to the *Reis Effendi*,

'who

'who willingly took the Money, brought for him, and, ſhewing the 'Articles, which were then drawn up fair, all was as expected, only 'the Article concerning turning *Turk*; and there, whereas it was 'ſaid the Proof ſhould be put upon the Treaſurer's Books and Bills 'of Lading, that was quite taken out, and the Thing left without any 'Proof at all, but as the Law of the Country ſtood.

'The *Dragomen* going to the *Kaia* for an Anſwer to the *Arze*, 'in Behalf of the Friers of *Jeruſalem*, the *Kaia* told them his 'Excellency would do well to leave all Thoughts of that Matter; for 'the Vizier would not hear of it; but, as a Buſineſs done by the 'Grand Signor, it muſt remain as it is. And, for the Capitulations, 'they went on, and the *Dragomen* daily brought an Account of the 'Progreſs; as their being wrote, ſigned by the *Reis*, the *Turah*, or 'royal Firm, ſet, *&c.* and remaining in the Hands of the Vizier, 'who waited an Opportunity to preſent them to the Grand Signor 'to ſign.

'The *Dragomen* going daily to the *Kaia*, to preſs Expedition, 'received Promiſes, that all would be ready ſuddenly, and enquiring 'the Vizier's Pleaſure, concerning the Money promiſed, received for 'Anſwer, that he had ſpoke with the Vizier thereof, and that he 'ſaid, he had not hitherto taken any Thing of any Embaſſador, and 'would not now; but what he had done was for Right and Juſtice. 'Whereupon it plainly appeared, that, notwithſtanding the *Kaia*, 'in the Beginning, had preſſed for Money, yet the Vizier knew nothing 'of it; nor did he expect, but what was done would have been with-'out any Mention of it; and all was a Stratagem of the *Kaia* and '*Reis* to get Money for themſelves.

'The *Dragomen* preſſed again about the Word *Padiſha*, to which 'the *Kaia* replied, that he had endeavoured all that was poſſible, 'but without Effect, not having been able to obtain it, tho' he, in 'Oppoſition to the *French*, deſired it ſo much, that he would wil-'lingly ſpend five Purſes (or two thouſand five hundred Dollars) of his 'own Money, that we might have it. Theſe Anſwers his Excellency 'received with great Joy, and immediately ordered the Treaſurer and '*Dragomen* to carry him his Money the next Day; and, ſeeing the 'Vizier had, with ſo much Gentility, refuſed the Money, the *Dra-'gomen* were ordered to tell the *Kaia*, that his Lordſhip had the 'ſame Books of *Atlas*, which the *Dutch* had formerly preſented to 'the Grand Signor, which, if he thought they would be acceptable, he 'would preſent to the Grand Vizier, together with ſome ſuperfine 'Veſts of Cloth, at his Audience, when he ſhould receive the Ca-'pitulations from his Hand. To which the *Kaia* anſwered, that he 'would acquaint the Vizier, and know his Pleaſure concerning the

'Books;

'Books; but, for his Part of the Money, they might bring it; which 'was accordingly done the next Day, betimes in the Morning, to his 'own Houſe, where, after the Treaſurer and *Dragomen* had ſome 'Time attended his coming out, they underſtood that he had taken 'Horſe at the Women's Apartment; which when the *Dragomen* were 'appriſed of, they ran to him, and told him, that they had brought 'the Money, which he bad them deliver to his Treaſurer, or 'chief Page; but when the *Kaia* was gone, the *Haſnadar* abſolutely 'refuſed to meddle with it, without immediate Order from the '*Kaia*, ſaying he had many Times received Blame in ſuch Caſes, the 'Money paid him having proved leſs than it ought to have been. So 'the *Dragomen* went to the Vizier's Houſe, and ſpoke with him 'thereof, when he wrote two Words on a Scrap of Paper, which 'being brought to the *Haſnadar*, he made no farther Scruple, but 'took the Money, in a Manner as if it had been Payment of a due 'Debt, bending and trying the Pieces of Gold, and telling it twice 'over.

'The *Dragomen* ſtill continue their Solicitations for Diſpatch, 'but without Effect; all Anſwers being ſtill dilatory, that the Vizier 'could not be ſpoke with, and other Put-offs. His Excellency fell 'into an extreme Paſſion againſt the *Dragomen*, accuſing and blam-'ing them, and vowing that if in two Days Time he had not a po-'ſitive Anſwer when his Buſineſs ſhould be done, or where it ſtuck, 'that he would make new Applications to the Vizier by Means of '*Mauro Cordato*, a *Greek Dragoman* to the Grand Signor's *Divan*, 'or go in Perſon himſelf, to the *Kaia* without them. This ſpirited 'the *Dragomen* to preſs all that they could poſſibly, acquainting 'their Friends of their Condition, and, about three Days after, they 'bring Word to his Lordſhip, that, on *Friday* following, his Excel-'lency ſhould have Audience of the Vizier, and receive from his 'Hands the new Capitulations, and Letters to the King of *England*; 'which appeaſed all, and the Treaſurer, in Conſideration of the Mo-'nies being refuſed, was ordered to prepare an handſome Preſent to 'be given to the Vizier at that Time.

'Things ſtanding thus, juſt on the Concluſion, there arrives an 'Expreſs from *Smyrna* to his Excellency, with Letters from the 'Conſul, ſigned by the whole Nation there, praying his Excellency 'to protect them in their ancient Rights and Privileges, againſt the 'Innovations of *Uſine Aga* chief Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*, who 'pretended to make them land and ſhip off all their Goods at the 'Scale of the new Cuſtom-houſe, and no more at their own Houſes, 'as they had done formerly; but his Excellency did not, in this Con-

'juncture

'juncture, think fit ſo much as to take Notice of his Receipt of ſuch 'a Complaint.

'*Friday* now drawing near, Signor *Antonio Perone*, the ſecond '*Dragoman*, the very Day before, went to the *Kaia* to ſee if the 'Audience held for the next Day, as had been appointed; and, diſ-'courſing the *Kaia*, he found the Appointment ſtood good, but 'that there was not any *Hatteſherif* (or Grand Signor's Handwrit-'ing) upon the Capitulations, as we always uſed to have; the *Kaia* 'ſaying, the *Venetians* and *French* not having any, there was no 'need thereof. Whereunto the *Dragoman* replied, that, we having 'had one to our former Capitulations, he knew well his Excel-'lency would be infinitely diſpleaſed, not to have it now; but 'all the Anſwer he could have, was that it could not be. There-'upon, without coming to my Lord, he went immediately to the '*Reis Effendi*, urging the ſame to him; who alſo ſaid, that the 'Vizier had declared, there ſhould be none, nor would he alter; 'and when he preſt him to move the Vizier again, he abſolutely 'refuſed it, ſaying, he knew the Vizier to be a Man firm to his 'Reſolutions, and not to be moved. Yet Signor *Antonio*, knowing 'the Conſequence of this Matter, returned again to the *Kaia*, and 'preſſed him ſo far, that he procured him to write to the Vizier's '*Muhurdar* (or privy Seal-keeper) a favourite Page, to move the 'Vizier in it, from whom alſo, after ſome Time, Anſwer came, 'that he neither durſt nor would move the Grand Signor in it. On 'this, Signor *Antonio* ran and fetch'd the old Capitulations, which 'had the Hand-writing of this preſent Grand Signor upon it, and 'laid them before the *Kaia*, telling him what an unreaſonable 'Thing it was, that the new Capitulations ſhould want the Force 'the old ones had; for how could it be ſaid, that a leſſer Au-'thority could enforce a greater? After all which, the *Kaia* was 'prevailed upon to write himſelf a Memorial to the Vizier, which 'he ſent by him together with the old Capitulations; and not long 'after received an Anſwer in Writing. Whereupon he called the '*Dragomen*, and told them that the Buſineſs was done, and that he 'ſhould ſalute the Embaſſador, and tell him that he hoped to get 'it ready in a few Days more, ſaying that he might ſay three to the 'Embaſſador, but he doubted not but in two to have it done.

'This Tranſaction, when thus paſſed, was related to the Em-'baſſador. He was extremely angry, not only with the *Drago-'men*, but the *Kaia* and *Reis*, that they had not ſooner acquainted 'him with this Difficulty, and now, after he was come to a Pe-'riod, and the Audience ſet for the very next Day, to be put off without

'without having any Time fixed, was grievous to that Degree, 'that his Lordſhip was very ſorry it was inſiſted on, but rather 'would have been content without it, thinking it enough that the '*French* and *Italians* had it not. But it muſt needs have reflected 'much on his Excellency's Proceeding, to have come ſhort of 'that his Predeceſſors had obtained, and whereof we had ſwag-'gered and gloried ſo much.

'The *Dragomen* are at their old Trade of ſoliciting for Diſpatch, 'and many Days paſs; ſometimes they find the *Kaia* argue againſt 'the Neceſſity of having it, but yet he told them it ſhould be done, 'and that, in Order to it, the Capitulations are in the Hands of 'the Vizier's *Muhurdar*, to be preſented to the Grand Signor, with 'ſeveral other Writings, as ſoon as *Talkiſh*, or Signing-time, ſhould 'be made to the Grand Signor. Whereupon his Excellency or-'dered a Preſent of four Veſts to be made to the *Muhurdar*, to 'make him mindful thereof; and the old Capitulations being alſo 'taken to ſhew the Grand Signor at his Signing, to demonſtrate 'the Precedent; not long after, News was brought that the Grand 'Signor had ſigned them, and that his Excellency ſhould be rea-'dy to come to Audience of the Vizier when he ſhould be called 'to receive them, which was accordingly done, not many Days 'after; and *Wedneſday*, the eighth of *September*, at three in the 'Afternoon, appointed. When his Excellency, going a little too 'ſoon, waited in the *Kaia*'s Apartment till Prayers were over; 'and, being called to the Audience of the Vizier, he received 'from his Hands the Capitulations, with the Grand Signor's own 'Letters to the King of *England*. This being performed, Pre-'ſents given and received, my Lord returned with great Joy.

'Thus ended our tedious Attendance at *Adrianople*, which laſted 'near five Months in the hotteſt Seaſon of the Year; the Town 'crowded by Means of the Feaſts, and the Plague raging exceſ-'ſively, and though his Lordſhip lived in the Fields and Tents, 'yet, at laſt, it was got into his Family, and ſome died, which 'made our Remove to be as haſty as was poſſible to make it*.'

A Thought of being Embaſſador.

I ſhall here inſert ſome few Memoirs, which will not fall apter in any other Place. And firſt, that after our Merchant had been at the Head of ſuch great Managements at *Conſtantinople*, and underſtood the *Turkiſh* Oeconomy ſo well as he did, he was

* In the original MS. I found the *Italian* Letter inſerted here; but, thinking it would leſs break the Connection of the Story, I have put it by itſelf at the End of the Book.

not without Thoughts of making an *Engliſh* Intereſt to have the Authority of Embaſſador there, in the Room of Sir *John Finch*: It was known, that his Excellency was to be recalled, and another ſent out, which proved to be the Lord *Chandois*. But in the Interim, our Merchant wrote to his beſt Friend (not to the Company, or to any *Turky* Merchant whatever) to let him know that ſuch a Thing was practicable, and, if it might with Intereſt be obtained, he did not doubt but to do the Nation better Service than any before had ever done. But his Brother Mr. *Mountagu North* enlarged, and was exceedingly far gone with the Project; he raiſed many Objections and then anſwered them; as for Inſtance, That one known to have been a Merchant might be deſpiſed; to which he anſwered, that the *Turks* have no Regard to Quality, but that of the Commiſſion; with much more to the ſame Intent: But the only Effect it had with us, was to ſhew, that they knew as little of *London*, and Intereſt at Court here, as we did of *Conſtantinople* and the *Turkiſh* Court there. But this Deſign never took Wind, nor was known to any one upon the Exchange.

Notes about Embaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*.

The *Turks* have a ſacred Regard to Embaſſadors, and will puniſh ſeverely Affronts done to any of them; but they neither have any Notion of, nor will they be made to underſtand the Difference between an Envoy Reſident, and Embaſſador; and the *Dutch* Reſident there hath the ſame Reſpect as any Embaſſador; and when Matters of Precedency, or the like, occaſion that Difference to be ſpoke of to them, *What*, ſay they, *has he not a Commiſſion? have you more? and is not all the reſt nothing?* The *Spaniards* neither have, nor ever had an Embaſſador at the Port; which perhaps may be derived from their hatred to all *Mahometans*, for the Sake of the *Moors*; and the Grand Signor pretends to a large Territory in *Africa*, and is owned, tho' little obeyed there. Several petit Monarchies ſend Embaſſadors occaſionally, and they are entertained as ſuch, tho' their Buſineſs be little elſe, but ſelling of Slaves. A *Mingrelian* Embaſſador came to *Conſtantinople* while our Merchant was there; he had a great Retinue of above two hundred; but ſold them all one after another, and his Secretary laſt; after which, his Embaſſy was at an End, and he returned home. The Grand Vizier, with whom Embaſſadors ordinarily treat, carries himſelf very ſtately with them, and will not bear an Affront to himſelf, or Government; and however he provokes, it is not ſafe to make a Return, or any invidious Compariſons; ſo careful a Thing is it to comport in his Preſence.

When

When our Merchant went firſt up to *Conſtantinople*, the Lord *Winchelſea* was our Embaſſador there. He was a jolly Lord, and extremely favoured by the good Vizier *Cuperli*, who adviſed him often to live after his Way; that is, as a Man of Pleaſure, merrily; and not trouble himſelf with Buſineſs, which, upon Application by his *Dragomen*, ſhould be done to his Hand; and having a goodly Perſon and Muſtachios, with a World of Talk, and that all (as his Way was) of mighty Wonders, the Vizier delighted in his Company. In this Time, one *John*, a *Quaker*, went on a ſort of Pilgrimage to *Conſtantinople*, for converting the Great *Turk*; and the firſt Scene of his Action was ſtanding up in a Corner of a Street, and preaching to the People. They ſtared at him, and concluding him out of his Wits, he was taken and carried to the Mad-houſe; there he lay ſix Months. At laſt, ſome of the Keepers heard him ſpeak the Word *Engliſh*, and told it ſo as it came to the Embaſſador's Ear, that he had a Subject in the Mad-houſe; his Lordſhip ſent and had him to his Houſe. The Fellow ſtood before the Embaſſador with a ragged dirty Hat on, and would not put it off, tho' he was ſo charged, and admoniſhed; thereupon the Embaſſador ordered him down, and had him drub'd upon the Feet, after the *Turkiſh* Manner; then he was any Thing, and would do any Thing; and afterwards did own that that Drubbing had a great Effect upon his Spirit; upon ſearching him, there was found in his Pouch, among a few Beans, a Letter to the Grand Signor, very long, and canting; but the Subſtance was, to let him know, that he was the Scourge in God's Hand, with which he chaſtiſed the wicked *Chriſtians*; and now their Wickedneſs was ſo great, that God by the Spirit had ſent him, to let him know, that he muſt come forthwith to ſcourge them. He was ſent for *England*, but got off by the Way, and came up a ſecond Time to *Conſtantinople*; from whence he was more ſurely conveyed; and ſome, that knew *John*, told Sir *Dudley North* they had ſeen him on the Exchange, where he recogniſed the admirable Virtue of *Turkiſh* Drubbing.

The Adventures of *John* the *Quaker*.

Having attended our Merchant from his Cradle, through all his Voyages and Adventures, to the Height of his Proſperity in *Turky*, which I plant upon his Conduct of this great Affair of the Audience; I now find myſelf in as much Haſte to bring him back to a better Settlement in *England*, as he was deſirous to compaſs that agreeable Remove. But in Regard that, after his Return to *Conſtantinople*, he ſpent diverſe Years in Order to bring it about; in which Time he very much increaſed his Fortunes; and diverſe Incidents, of no ſmall Conſequence, happened to him; and his Converſation here hath furniſhed

His Height in *Turky*.

niſhed us with many Remarks, and ſome Pleaſantries, about his Affairs, and about the Temper of the *Turkiſh* Nation, I have thought fit, before I bring him home, to inſert here what remains to be related of *Turkiſh* Matters.

Chiefly concerned at the Audience.

It was not without a native Sagacity, adapted to the Occaſion, and alſo a long Series of Attention to the Way of Dealing, Language, and Converſation with the *Turks*, and others upon the Place, that he acquired thoſe great Abilities he had in managing whatever he undertook; and particularly this Expedition; which, conſidering the *Italick* Caution of the Embaſſador, and Selfiſhneſs of the Knight, lay almoſt wholly upon his Shoulders: And more eſpecially the gaining the Point of the *Hatteſherif*, which was of more Moment than all the reſt, or than the Embaſſador foreſaw. And it appears how he managed and drove on the *Dragomen*; and, diſapproving ſome of the Embaſſador's Purpoſes, diverted them: All the while behaving himſelf with entire Submiſſion to his Lordſhip; and neither in the Action, nor in the Relation (ſuch was the *Decorum* of his Modeſty) appropriates any Value to himſelf.

The Viziers changed for the worſe.

In this Time the Caſe had been furiouſly changed upon the Merchants, from mild and juſt Viziers, as were the two *Cuperli's*, Father and Son, to the moſt ravenous and unjuſt Government of *Cara Muſtapha*. By this, the Merchants were tied up to their Affairs, and had not Liberty to expatiate in Frolicks, and Adventures, as they had done formerly. They needed not to give Handles againſt themſelves, the Vizier was ready enough to take them; and for Fail (rather than not eat their Money) make them. I have heard the Merchant ſay, that the *Turks* do not bear that which we call Curioſity; and are apt to beat a Man that pretends to it. They look upon thoſe Idleneſſes and Impertinencies (as at beſt they account them) with a ſiniſter Eye; and always ſuſpect Miſchief at the Bottom, though they do not diſcern it. But when the Vizier ſhewed no Inclination to oppreſs the *Chriſtians*, they, depending on his good Humour, launched farther in Curioſity; as will appear by what follows.

Made a Topography of the City of *Conſtantinople*.

Our Merchant had then reſiding with him a *Virtuoſo*, who was a good Mathematician and Draughtſman; and they together concerted a Deſign of making an exact Plan of the City of *Conſtantinople*, and carried it on till it came very near being completed. They took the Liberty of meaſuring in the Street a Diſtance between two Stations, which were two of their Moſque Towers, from which their Prieſts cry to Prayers; and, with a Theodolite, they took certain Angles at the Corners of Streets. And, in Order to find the Poſition and Diſtances of all the Towers and remarkable Places, they went

went up the two Towers which they had choſe, and made their Stations; and there, with the ſame Inſtrument, marked the Angles of each View by the Bearings of every one of thoſe Places, and ſet off the ſame, upon a large Paper, by Lines; and then the proper Interſections gave the true Poſition of them all, in juſt Proportion, according as the Practice of ſuch Method is commonly directed. And then they fell to mapping the Streets, partly, by the Guidance of thoſe Views, and, partly, by other Obſervations. But this Work lying a little neglected, it hath ſo happened, that as well the Proof Papers, as the Map itſelf, were all taken away; and the Merchant hath much lamented the Loſs, but never could recover them. And I have heard ſince, that the chief of them are in *England*, and kept as great Curioſities by Dr. *C——l* Maſter of *C——t's* Coll. in *Cambridge*. Perhaps, ſince the firſt taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*, to this very Day, there hath not been a Conjuncture in which Unbelievers, or *Gowers* (as they call them) might publickly execute ſuch a Deſign as this was; eſpecially trenching upon the holy Places, the Moſque Towers, which, to the *Turks*, is an Abomination; and perhaps, until they are driven out (which God ſend) there will not be ſuch another.

Of Covering with Lead.

Our Merchant was a Builder himſelf; and no Foreigner ever looked more ſtrictly into the Manner of the *Turkiſh* Buildings than he had done. But he could not give Sir *Chriſtopher Wren* Satisfaction about covering their Vaults with Lead. For, when he had the Covering of the great Dome of St. *Paul's* in Deliberation, he was pleaſed to enquire of that Matter. The Merchant informed him ſo far, as to aſſure him, the *Turks* never laid Lead upon Wood, but upon Loam, or meer Clay only: But how they faſtened it he could not tell. Sir *Chriſtopher* was not ſatisfied, that the Lead would hang upon Loam, and not ſlip, without ſome Faſtening; wherein lay the whole Difficulty: For if it was done with Iron Nails, or Spikes, the Iron would ruſt, and loſe its Hold. It is not impoſſible but Lead, dreſſed home upon Loam, may hang by a Sort of Union, as the Weight and Friction together might make. But, as I ſaid, the Architect would ſcarce venture what was not abſolutely ſecure, in a Place ſo expoſed; and cauſed the Shell to be boarded, and Plates of Lead to be let in, and nailed to the Board, and the Sheets to be a little opened, and then ſoldered to thoſe Plates; and ſo it hangs. Our Merchant told us, that the ordinary Covering of Portico's, were half ſweep Vaults, which ſtood like Mole-hills in a Row; and that all public Buildings whatever were covered with Vaults, and leaded upon Loam. And that Lead laſted two thouſand Years; when upon Wood it would be corrupted into white Lead in half the Time.

It is

It is hard to ſay, why our Plumbers ſhould not, for ſo great an Advantage, make the Experiment of Houſe-lead upon Loam. The Merchant told us, that the very Metal of Lead, that had hung ſo anciently upon Loam, was worth much more Money than new Lead. So much was it purified by the Weather, and no white Lead ever found under it; as upon Oak, which eats the Sheets of Lead to Paper in a few Years; and what remains of the Metal is not ſo much improved.

Houſes built with Wood.

The Merchant told us, that the common Houſing of the *Turks* in *Conſtantinople*, was of Timber, which is brought down from the *Black Sea*, and comes from *Georgia*, *Mingrelia*, &c. in vaſt Floats. Upon which Floats the Men travel, and, to help forward, put up a little Maſt and Sail; and that the Float might keep itſelf in due Poiſe, and not ſink in one Place more than another, they take Goat-ſkins (tight as for Wine) which muſt not exhale; and theſe, blown full and ligatured, are put under the Corners that appear moſt to ſink; and ſo, by making it more buoyant there, keep the Float always level. The Builders buy theſe Trees for their Scantlings, and never ſplit a Tree for Houſe-work; every Piece, put in, being an whole Tree, and thoſe only adzed, ſo as to lie cloſe, and then made faſt, not with Pins of Wood, or by mortiſing by Tenons, but with Iron Spikes only. And this makes Fires, to which this Wooden City is very obnoxious, ſpread exceedingly; for theſe Houſes cannot fall till the Material is conſumed to Aſhes; but hang together like Bird-cages. The Force of Men, with Hooks and Crowes, cannot readily bring them under. At Fires (by the Way) Men are not permitted to help even at their own Houſes; but all the People (that croud about ſo much with us for Miſchief rather than for Help) are driven off; and Officers and *Janizaries* take Poſſeſſion of the Street, of which they cloſe and ſecure both Ends. This ſort of Building retrenches the Number of Tools; and a Carpenter uſeth none but what ſticks in his Girdle, an Adz with a Hammer on the Reverſe, a Saw, and a Level. The Saw works by drawing to, and not by thruſting from; and ſo the Teeth are filed contrary to ours. The Level performs all ordinary Diſtances at one Operation; it is only a Triangle, with two Hooks and a Plummet, applied to the middle of a Cord ſtrained from one Place to another.

Brick Houſes and Villages.

There are alſo Houſes built with Brick laid in Loam; but they are moſtly Sun-dried. They become hard as Stones; but, if wet comes upon them, they decay very faſt. Kiln, or Fire-dried, Brick, laid in Lime, make a ſure Wall, and are uſed in the beſt Houſes and Vaults. But the *Turks* are ſo far from affecting fine Houſes, that they ſtrive to make them look humble and poor; which is to

avoid Envy, and the Injuries that ordinarily, in theſe Places, attend it. If a Man ſhould build a fine Houſe of ſtrong Material, others will ſay, *What? do you intend to live for ever?* If it be pompous, it will be concluded they have cheated the Government, though with leſs Reaſon perhaps than if the like were inferred in *England*, *Spain*, or *France*. But, within Doors, a wealthy Man ventures to adorn richly, as their Cielings, *&c.* with a variegated Colouring, not Imagery, but wild, as *Turky* Carpets. There is ſcarce in any of the great Cities ſuch a Thing as an antique Fabrick for private Uſe; but their Houſes are always decaying and rebuilding. And, in the Villages, it is worſe; for they contrive all they can not to be ſeen at all, that Travellers may not come down upon them from the Hills; as, if they ſee a Town, they will do in great Parties, and ſpoil their Goods; and, for that Reaſon, they make their Doors juſt big enough for a Man to creep in at, leſt Travellers make Stables of them. So that the Face of the Empire, as to the Habitations of the common People, is very wretched; there being nothing of that Kind ſtanding but Moſques and *Canes* (or Inns) Works of Religion and Charity. But the Ruins of very ancient Structures are obſervable every where; as Pieces of old Walls, and Arches, which may have lain open to the Sun and Weather above fifteen hundred Years; and the Brick and Mortar as hard as Stone itſelf.

A Convent of Friers, diſcovered a Secret, and were excluded.

Over-againſt our Merchant's Houſe in *Pera*, oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*, there was a ſmall Convent of (literally) *Mendicant* Friers. They were reduced to three only that lived there; and deſpicable Fellows they were. They lived in a perpetual Contention; and, for the moſt Part, concluded the Work of the Day in Fighting. The main Streſs lay between two that were ſtrong and luſty. The third was a poor old Man, that got him to Bed before the laſt Act; and ſo he eſcap'd the Scowering. The others were aſked how he came to retire in good Time, and not they. The Anſwer was, *That he was a very old Man, and, with his Pittance of Wine, got drunk ſooner than they could do, and ſo muſt needs go to his Cell to ſleep.* The Merchants of this Factory uſed to be very kind (charitable it was called) to this Convent; and the Friers were often admitted into the Houſe, and to eat and drink there, and to carry Pots of Wine and Meat home with them, and now and then a little Money. But it happened in our Merchant's Time, that one of theſe Friers, being in the Houſe, overheard a Diſcourſe, concerning the *French* Embaſſador, which had like to have made a great Splutter; and it was found out that the Diſcovery was made by this Frier. From that Time they were ſhut out from all Entrance there.

The

Urged to be reſtored, but refuſed.

The Friers were exceedingly troubled for this Loſs, and uſed all the Means they could to retrieve it, by getting a Pardon, and Re-admiſſion; but in vain. Once one of them ventured to the Door of the Counting-houſe, and there ſtood while the Merchants were writing, and begg'd a Pot of Wine. No, nothing; he muſt be gone. At laſt he condeſcended to accept of a poor *Aſper*. Our Merchant's Brother aſked, if it were not better for an *Aſper* to get rid of him. *No*, ſaid our Merchant, *here is a Trial of Skill, whether this Fellow or I have moſt Impudence. If he gets the better, I am his Slave. If it once comes to that, I ſhould be ſorry any Man living ſhould outbrazen me, or that his Impudence ſhould command my Eaſineſs.* After this, they were never troubled with any of them about the Houſe any more, but what broken Meat they had was ſent over to them. It was our Merchant's conſtant Way, as unreaſonable People grew impudent, to grow more poſitive, and, upon that Foot, ſoon rout them. But, to civil People, none more humane, obliging, and good natured than he was, and very loth to refuſe any Gratification he could afford to others, until provoked by being urged in an imperative Way; and then the Refuſal came powdering from him by Wholeſale.

His good Nature to the young Factors.

I have many Inſtances of his good Nature. One, and not the leaſt, was this. When he reſided at *Conſtantinople*, and was the principal Merchant, and Treaſurer there, he had always a tender Reſpect for the Youth of the Factory newly ſent out, and unexperienced in the Dealing of that City: Which was a Practice altogether different from the Practice of the elder Merchants; for they too often banter young Men, tie up their Heads (as they call it) and make Advantage to themſelves by their Want of Skill and Dexterity in Buſineſs, and then make Sport with them. He knew theſe Ways, and as he always eſcaped the ill Influence of them when he was young; ſo, in his advanced Poſt, he was ſo far from impoſing upon the young Men, that he encouraged, inſtructed, adviſed, and, in their Buſineſs, aſſiſted them. He conſidered human Frailties, and more eſpecially the Inability of Youth to ſtand among Sharpers; and that they were truſted by others, and therefore it was but common Juſtice to aſſiſt them: And the rather, becauſe of the Conſequence, which might be fatal to them; for if the Principals found their Factors incompetent, they were for ever ruined. And ſometimes other Merchants have expoſtulated with him, ſaying, *Why will you do this? Do you not ſee that you act againſt your own and our Intereſt? If they are made to hold off ſelling, ſhall not we ſell the better?* His Anſwer was, *Pugh! what need you concern yourſelf? There is enough for them and us too, if we mind our Buſineſs*; or to that Effect, and no more.

There

His Brother fell ill of the Plague, and recovered.

There was another Inſtance, wherein he ſhewed a World of Tenderneſs and good Nature. His Brother, that came over to him from *Aleppo*, and was ſettled in the Houſe, fell ill of the Plague. I ſaw Letters from him, that gave the firſt Account of it; and I do not know that I ever heard or read more ſenſible Expreſſions of Grief than he uſed. It troubled him to the Heart, that he ſhould be a Means of bringing him to that City, and thereby be, though innocently, a Cauſe of his Death. He did not paſs his Time idly, but (griefs apart) laid about him to provide all poſſible Means that could be contrived, had, or procured for his Preſervation. He put him into a good Place, and had four Plague-nurſes (for diverſe in that City are ſo profeſt) the moſt ſkilful of the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, to attend him. He lay four Days, in the Rage of the Fever, without any *Criſis* or ſenſible Sleep, and without any Phyſic, or any Thing elſe, coming between his Lips, except Lemons; and of thoſe they gave him one after another continually, ſo that he might never be without one in his Hand to ſuck. It ſeems that Acid is a Specific againſt the Venom of the Plague; for, by the Price of Lemons in that City, they can tell if the Plague rages or not: For, if they are cheap, the City is leſs viſited; and, if dear, the Diſeaſe is more frequent. And, as theſe Nurſes affirmed, which I am apt to think is true, if he had taken any Cordials or Julaps whatſoever, other than theſe Lemons, he had died.

Occurrences after this Sickneſs.

During the uncertain State of his Brother's dangerous Sickneſs, the Merchant, walking out to divert his Melancholy, ſaw a Fellow making a Grave, and went towards him to obſerve his Working. He had not looked upon him long before the Fellow turned and, looking up at him, aſked how the *Haſnadar's*, or Treaſurer's Brother did; on whoſe Account, it ſeems, he hoped to have another like Employ. One may imagine, what an offenſive Shock this was to the Merchant, and how it daſhed all the Spirits he had within him. It ſent him home with a Reſolution to come no more near ſuch ominous Fellows. But it pleaſed God that his Brother recovered, and, ſurviving him, had the Happineſs of an Opportunity to make a grateful Return for all theſe Cares of him, as, after his Death, he performed by his perpetual Superintendence of his Family and Remains in *England*. It is not unfit to remember here, that this Mr. *Mountagu North*, having recovered of the Plague, for Want of Advice, or Care to phyſic himſelf ſtoutly after it, was not clear of the Venom, but lived in a very ill State of Health ſome Years after. Perhaps, if his Sore, that appeared in his Arm, had broke, and ſo diſcharged the malignant Humour, he had been better. But that had been another Riſk for his Life; for they ſay there are two fatal *Criſes*,

one of the Diſeaſe, and another of the Sore: For, if that breaks, there is imminent Danger the part ſhould gangrene, and never heal. But it happened that, at *Smyrna*, this Gentleman, in his Return for *England*, was almoſt laid up of a languid Indiſpoſition. But at length, in the Place where the Sore had been, which had diſperſed, there aroſe a ſort of Puſh, like what Boys ſometimes have. It had a black Head, and was ſo angry, that looking upon it, almoſt hurt it. This proceeded till it broke, and a black Core came out, as big as a ſmall Nutmeg; and then it healed. It is certain, that theſe ſecret Operations of Nature, ſtriving againſt all its Enemies, are little leſs than Miracles; and the moſt learned can give a ſatisfactory Reaſon for the latter, in any of the celebrated Inſtances, as eaſily as for the former.

Of the *Jews* at *Conſtantinople*, and their Ways of Proceeding.

Our Merchant hath often diſcourſed of the *Jews* at *Conſtantinople*, what a Convenience they were to them in the Tranſaction of their Buſineſs, and alſo of the wonderful Condition of their living there, with other Concerns of that obſtinate People. They are very numerous, and very poor. Some there may be accounted rich, if the very hard Taxes, impoſed and paid for maintaining the Poor, did not almoſt reduce them to the ſame Paſs. For at leaſt one tenth of their Income goes of Courſe that Way; and moreover their beggarly *Jews* extort from them great Sums, which they demand as Charity, ſaying, *You are bound to relieve the Poor. I am poor; give me my Relief.* It is a Proverb, that *Jews* beg *con Baſton in Mano*, that is, *with a Stick in their Hand:* And in good Earneſt the rich Men are forced to comply, and part with a great deal upon ſuch kind of Compulſion. The *Jewiſh* People there have an Oeconomy, and Order of their Members, by governing (as they pretend) according to the *Moſaic* Law. And they are allowed by the *Turkiſh* Indulgence ſo to do in all Points, but that of Death, the Power of which they allow to no foreign Nation; but, in Caſes of Death, they muſt be judged by the *Turkiſh*, and not by the *Jewiſh*, or any other Law in the World. This puts the *Jews* to a great Streſs, when Offences, by the Law of *Moſes*, require Death, and the *Turkiſh* Law will not (for that Reaſon) adjudge them. And it hath been known that, to expedite their Execution with Safety, they have ſent into the *Turkiſh* Court two falſe Witneſſes of their own Tribe (which will paſs againſt *Jews*) who have falſly ſworn upon the Offender a Crime of Death by the *Turkiſh* Law, and had Sentence accordingly; purſuant to which, their unlucky Brother was cut off. To ſhew what Reaſon the *Chriſtians* have to truſt theſe *Jews*, I may add that, by their common Principle, Lying and Perjury, againſt all that are not *Jews*, are, not only lawful but, commendable. And to loſe any Thing from their Public,

Public, for either Truth or Juſtice, is a very great Fault. This makes all Dealing with them very nice and cautelous; for all Truſt, even with the beſt of them, is deſperate; and the common Sort, who are miſcreantly poor, are the moſt faithleſs Wretches upon Earth; and withal moſt abject and impudent in the Turn of an Hair.

Their Diſpoſition to Fraud.

I have heard our Merchant ſay, that he found it impoſſible to tell to any of them a Sum of Money out of a Bag, and they not finger ſome of it, and ſo bring it to fall ſhort; and that Traps have been laid, by Atteſtation prepared, to make the Diſcovery; and one of their Houſe hath turned a Bag out to them with Charge to mind only the Fellow's Fingers, and could not diſcern the leaſt Action towards a Legerdemain; and yet the Money hath been ſhort. Now, would not one wonder, that a Society ſhould, not only deal with but, take into a Sort of Employ, and it may be, in ſome Reſpect, truſt theſe Men, and uſe them as neceſſary to their Trade, which *Turks*, *Chriſtians*, and (in particular) the *Engliſh* do, and could not well do otherwiſe, or carry on Buſineſs without them.

Jews impoſe themſelves as Brokers.

When a freſh Merchant, or Factor, comes to *Conſtantinople*, the firſt *Jew*, that catches a Word with him, marks him for his own, as becoming his peculiar Property, and calls him his Merchant; and ſo he muſt be as long as he ſtays. And, from this Time, no other *Jew* will interpoſe to deprive him of his Purchaſe, but as ſoon rob an Houſe as do it. And thus, by Compact or Cuſtom among themſelves, this ſacred Rule of Right is eſtabliſhed. On the other Side, the Merchant can no more ſhake off his *Jew* than his Skin. He ſticks like a Bur, and, whether well uſed or ill uſed, will be at every Turn in with him; and no Remedy. Somewhat the Rogue will get out of him in Spite of his Teeth, and commonly (beſides Pay) juſt ſo much more as he is truſted with: And the Merchant cannot be without a *Jew*, nor change that he hath. The only Expedient is to make the beſt of him, and never truſt him upon Honour. It is not a little Convenience that is had by theſe appropriated *Jews*; for they ſerve in the Quality of univerſal Brokers, as well for ſmall as great Things. Their Trade is running up and down, and through the City, like ſo many of *Job*'s Devils, perpetually buſking after one Thing or other, according as they are employed. If the Merchant wants any Thing, be it never ſo inconſiderable, let him tell his *Jew* of it, and, if it be above Ground, he will find it. This is accounted a common Advantage; for there are Multitudes of People, that have need of each other, and want Means to come together; which Office the *Jews* perform admirably. And in like Manner they apply to the great Men at Court, calling themſelves

his Merchant at whose House, or Gate, they wait expecting Employment. For, when any thing is wanted, the *Jew* is spoke to, and he, with wonderful Dispatch, procures it. And they have great Profit by these Trusts, which they account as the Vails of their Places.

An Escape from a superstitious Rabble.

The *Turks* are the most superstitious of all People, and have an Opinion of Fascination by ill Eyes; and the Merchant had once like to have suffered upon that Account. For, being at the Sports, mentioned in his Letter to the *Italian*, he observed a Rope-Dancer come down from a Tower, and thought, by his Minute Watch, to know in how many Seconds he passed to his Place; and, as he stood counting three, four, five, *&c.* the Rope broke. This Disappointment troubled the *Turks*, that stood thick, gaping up; and, some wondering how such an Accident should happen, one said he believed that Fellow was the Cause of it; for he saw him hold somewhat in his Hand, and mutter over it. The Merchant, hearing this, crept away as fast as he could; for, if the Mob had fallen upon him for an Enchanter, he had passed his Time but very indifferently amongst them.

Angels govern the Plague.

It was one of his Observations, that *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Christians* have the same vulgar Superstitions; as about Fairies, Goblins, *&c.* As for the Plague, they verily believe that destroying Angels are sent forth, and go about with Banners; one hath a red one, and the other a white one; and, as these Angels strike the People, they fall down, and either die or recover. And, in Time of raging Pestilence, there are Men who will affirm, they actually saw these Angels; and as true as the *Romans* of old attested that they saw their Emperors rise out of the Fire, which was called the *Apotheosis*; after which, they were enrolled among their Gods. And now, among the modern *Romans*, their Canonization of Saints, whereby they become adorable Intercessors, is a Fraud nearly of the same Species.

Their Faith in *reading over.*

But all these different Professors of Religion have a firm Faith in what they call *Reading over*; and they use it promiscuously. For, if a common *Turk* hath a Horse sick, he will have the *Alcoran* read over it, and, rather than fail, the Law of *Moses*, or the Gospel of *Christ*. And there are poor *Christians* that will get an holy Man, though a *Turk*, to *read over* a sick Child; and the poor *Jews* the like. It is the *Reading over* that they value, together with the venerable Phiz of the Holy Man that performs, without much Distinction what it is he reads. Once the Lord Ambassador went to an Audience of the Vizier, with the Nation attending; and he, being no Horseman, used to be carried in a Chair. That appeared to the *Turks* as a vile Effeminacy, and they detested it as unbecoming a Man, who ought to govern himself upon his Horse, and not to be carried like a Child in a

Cradle. As they went, an old *Turkiſh* Woman, thinking the Man in the Chair was ſick, aſked our Merchant whither they were carrying that poor ſick Man; and he, turning to her, anſwered, *To be read over. God bleſs you*, ſaid ſhe, *you are good Men, and that is a very good thing:* And ſo they went on. When this was told among the Merchants, it was a very good Jeſt to every one; but the Ambaſſador himſelf could not eaſily digeſt it.

Of a Life in the Grave.

The *Turks* have an Opinion, that Men, that are buried, have a ſort of Life in their Graves. If any Man makes Affidavit before a Judge, that he heard a Noiſe in a Man's Grave, he is, by Order, dug up, and chopt all to-pieces. The Merchants, once airing on Horſeback, had (as uſual for Protection) a Janizary with them. Paſſing by the burying Place of the *Jews*, it happened that an old *Jew* ſat by a Sepulchre. The Janizary rode up to him, and rated him for ſtinking the World a ſecond Time, and commanded him to get into his Grave again.

Danger of Talk before *Turks*, and ſome Fondneſſes of theirs.

Our Merchant was always ſhy of diſputing with the *Turks*; for, if they but catch, coming out of a *Gower*'s Mouth, certain Words, as for inſtance, *God is one God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet*, oh what account ſoever it is, be it only hiſtorical, in jeſt, or in earneſt, they will compel him to be a circumciſed *Turk*, or kill him. But the poor old Man, the *Effendi*, that wrote for them, was forced to bear their Attacks; for he was good conditioned, and would bear any Importunity from them that paid him well. A true *Turk*, but ignorant; and, at worſt, he was but one Witneſs, and could not accuſe. Their chief Oppoſition to him lay in aſking him hard Queſtions, to be reſolved by the Tenets of his Religion; and then the Simplicity of his Anſwers was ſubject of Merriment to them. As for inſtance, *How the Devils engendered, ſince it did not appear that there was any Diſtinction of Sexes amongſt them?* The old Man did, out of good Authority, allow that they encreaſed, but could give them no better Account, than that *they made uſe of their own Tails* in Culo, *and ſo begat Devils upon themſelves.*

Manner of ſhifting in Diſcourſe of Religion with the *Turks*.

It is a common Practice in all Places, where Men, of different Perſuaſions in Religion, dwell and converſe together, for the prevailing Perſuaſion to uſe all the Means they can, either by Courtſhips, or by Threats, to tempt others over to their Party: And the *Turks* are as buſy at that Sport as any People can be; but it is by way of Perſuaſion and Encouragement, rather than by Conſtraint. But the *Roman* Catholic Powers do it by Puniſhment, and very little (where they have Authority) by Perſuaſion. The *Turks* profer Liberty to all Religions that keep within Bounds; but will endure no Inſult upon their own. The Papiſts, by Principle, tolerate none, and alſo guard

guard their own by ſuppreſſing Controverſy, and miſerably tormenting thoſe that diſſent or differ from them. The *Turks* give all the kindeſt Invitations, that can be, to Chriſtians to renegue, and become *Turks:* But, when that is done, they have no manner of Value for them; for they ſuppoſe it done, not out of Sincerity but, Perfidiouſneſs; yet, in regard their Poſterity will be true *Turks*, they think their tempting Politics worth the while to practiſe. Our Merchant often told us how he had been moſt importunately preſſed, by Men in Power, to become *Turk*; and, knowing the Danger of ſuch Converſation, he uſed never to enter into any Compariſons, or Arguments, whatever. But yet, conſidering that he was obliged by the Company of ſuch Men of Account as ate and drank with him, and that it would be taken as ill Manners and Moroſity to ſay nothing at all; he uſed to ſay, that *his Father wore a Hat, and left the Hat to him, and he wears it becauſe his Father left it, and* (clapping his Hand on his Head) *declared he would wear it as long as he lived*; and others, of a meaner ſort, he hath put off, by ſaying, that *he was bred to drink Wine, and eat Hog, and intended to do ſo ſtill.* And, when he ſpoke of returning into his own Country, ſcarce any *Turk*, that knew him, believed that he ever intended it; for, as they thought, one, who ſo well underſtood the Felicity and Glory of that Country, could never leave it. And ſome, in the Form of Friendſhip, have ſaid, *Why*, Gower, *are you mad? Can you be ſo ſenſeleſs as to leave this Place?* And the like; which he put off in like manner as before; and ſaying that *he would die and be buried with his Forefathers.*

An Affront to ſome Derviſes dangerouſly given.

The holy Men, called Derviſes, that, in *Turky*, profeſs Mortification, chuſe to ride upon Aſſes, Horſes being a noble Animal for worldly Potentates to ride on; and they cannot bear to ſee *Gowers* ſo mounted, but will come and pull them off their Horſes, if they can. Once, at *Smyrna*, the Nation were abroad on Horſeback, well mounted, and ſpied a Parcel of Derviſes, coming in the Road, mounted, as their Way was, upon Aſſes. The Merchants expected to be affronted by them; and, ſays one, *Let us ride through them:* And all, with one Conſent, ſet ſpurs, and rode over this Troop of holy Men and Aſſes, beating them down here and there, as they happened to ſcatter. When they were got up, the Enemy was flown; and they went away, and made no Complaints: And, it is likely, they did not know who thoſe *Gowers* were; elſe, it might have made an *Avania.*

In *Aſia* the Speech is figurate.

The *Turks* retain the old *Aſiatic* Way of expreſſing themſelves by Figures, and have diverſe moral Parables amongſt them. That ſuch was anciently the Mode of Expreſſion in that Part of the World, we have

have *Æſop* to ſhew; many of whoſe Fables have been tranſlated out of, or into, *Arab.* And the ancient Prophecies, as well as the Style of the Holy Scriptures, demonſtrate the ſame. So little Reaſon had the Church of *Rome* to conſtrue literally that Paſſage, *This is my Body.* As for the common *Turks*, it will be enough to give an Inſtance or two, communicated occaſionally in Diſcourſe by our Merchant: And, to ſay Truth, he himſelf converſed ſo much with the People there, of all Degrees, that his Style and Manner of Expreſſion was tinctured accordingly. They uſe the Words, *Wrote on his Forehead*, for all Neceſſities that happen to a Man, which we call Fate. It is commonly known that the *Turks* are Fataliſts.

A *Turk* convinced againſt Fataliſm.

Our Merchant was acquainted with a grave honeſt *Turk*, who lived in an Houſe with one Slave; and, when his Slave died, he bought another; and, in a Time of Plague, he loſt four or five; which brought him very low: And no wonder; for he always laid his freſh Slave in that very Place where the former died, without any Dreſſing or Preparation at all. The Merchant often adviſed him to dreſs his Lodging with Vinegar and Fire, as the Uſe is, before he put another there. *O no*, ſaid he, *that ſignifies nothing; it is wrote on his Forehead.* At laſt he adviſed him to take three Lemons, two ſound and one rotten one, and lay them ſo as one of the ſound ones ſhould touch the rotten one, and the other not, and ſee which Lemon rotted firſt. He did ſo, and was convinced by the Effect; after which, he dreſſed his Room, and his next Slave lived.

The World is a Tail, a Proverb.

There is a Proverb, *The World is a Tail, and happy is he that gets hold on't*; which alludes to ſome Shipwreck at paſſing a River, where the Hold of an Horſe's Tail certainly ſaves a Man. They tell, that a wiſe old Man begged a Boon of a Grand Signor; and he bid him be gone, *The World was a Tail, &c.* He thought the Experiment was to be tried, and ordered his Slave to ſell him in the Market for a *Ruſs* Slave; but to one that looked grave and wiſe, with a long Beard, and a Boſom full of Papers. This was done, and he was ſent down to a Vineyard to work with other *Ruſſes* there: And ſo he did for diverſe Months. At laſt, from ſpeaking *Ruſſian*, he fell to ſpeak *Turkiſh*, and repeat the *Alcoran*, and declared that *Mahomet* appeared to him, and enabled him. The Maſter, being informed of this Miracle, ſent for him, and found it was ſo, and that he read the *Alcoran* well. He had immediately his Liberty, and was viſited and courted by Preſents from diverſe People. At laſt the Grand Signor heard of it, and would needs ſee him; and, when he was brought, *How?* ſaid the Grand Signor, *do not I know you? Sir*, ſaid the *Turk, for God's Sake let me alone; I have got hold of the Tail.*

Mentioning

The unequal Condition of Slaves.

Mentioning Slaves, puts me in mind of a mortifying Reflection our Merchant uſed to make of the unaccountable Difference that happens in the (at beſt) miſerable State of thoſe that fall under the Calamity to be bought and ſold as ſuch. Some ſhall come from the ſame Country, taken at the ſame Time, and be bought by a cruel Fellow, that will ſend him to the Mines, there to be flea'd with hard Labour, and ſo to live and die in Torment. Another ſhall be ſold to a good-natured Man, that ſhall make but an ordinary Domeſtic of him; and, behaving himſelf well, he ſhall be uſed as a Child, and, at length, married to his Patron's Daughter: And all this immane Difference without any ſenſible Merit or Demerit in either, and void of all Poſſibility, by any Foreſight, Prudence, or Behaviour, to prevent, alleviate, or determine. But, in the City, as our Merchant hath told us, a Slave hath ſome Degree of Juſtice againſt the ill Uſage of a Patron; for he may alledge Contrariety of Tempers, whereby they cannot well live together; and the Judge will decree, that the Patron ſhall carry his Slave to Market, and ſell him. But it muſt be a bad Maſter indeed that will Cauſe a Slave to affect a Change which is very probable to be worſe for him. The wealthy Men, in the *Turkiſh* Dominions, have a great Accommodation by Slaves bought at Market, as we do Cattle: For, if a Man wants a Slave of any Pretenſion, as Strength to labour, Comelineſs for a Waiter, Smith, Weaver, or other Faculty (to ſay nothing of a Concubine, or ſo) he finds one out, and buys him; and, if he be not uſeful, as expected, his Patron carries him out, and ſells him, and tries for another: And it is ſeldom or ever that theſe prove refractory, or impertinent; for the Correction falls ſo ſharp and thick upon them, that they cannot miſtake their Intereſt. Our Merchant was ſerved in his Houſe only by Slaves, and all the Cookery was done by ſuch; which ſhews a ſtrange Truſt, on that Side of the Globe, beyond what is in *India*, where, if the Slaves, being Natives, were Cooks, they would certainly poiſon the whole Family. He brought a Slave home with him, at his Return into *England*, whom he called *Shatein*, which ſignifies *Hawk*, becauſe the Fellow had a quick Eye, like a Hawk; but his Nature did not bely his Country, which was *Georgia*. This Slave he gave to his Mother, and ſhe uſed him as a Servant. He was a Chriſtian, but knew it by nothing but a few Faſts that he kept. He was ſuperſtitious as well as amorous; for a Maid Servant, provoked by his leering at her, laid a freſh Rabbit-Skin croſs his Face; which was ſuch a Pollution, that he run ſtraight to the Pump, and they thought that he would never have done waſhing. He found ſuch Liberty in the Family, that he thought he might fairly run home to his own Country; and, accordingly, took to his Heels;

Heels; and being found in a Wood, half ſtarved, and able to ſay nothing intelligible, but *North great Merchant*, he was brought home to the Lady's Houſe. But his Patron, perceiving that he was of no Uſe here, ſent him a little nearer home, where he might be kept or ſold, as the Factory thought fit. He had another Slave that was a *Polacco*, whom he cauſed alſo to be brought into *England*, and then ſent to *Poland*, with his Liberty, and about eighty Pounds he had got in the Service. This was to reward his incomparable Diligence and Fidelity while he ſerved. The Merchant once loſt a Jewel of Value, and could not find by what Means. He ſuſpected this Fellow, and to the laſt, in his private Sentiment, believed he ſtole it; but having no Evidence to juſtify the accuſing of him, and it being poſſible that ſome other Perſon ſtole it, he was ſo juſt as to let his private Suſpicion go for nothing. Thus much, concerning Slaves in *Turky*, I thought fit to inſert all together in this Place.

Parable, to ſhew the tyrannous Diſpoſition of the *Turks*.

I proceed to mention another Parable, and ſo conclude theſe Obſervations. A Grand Signor cauſed his Vizier's Arm to be cut off, and proclaimed that the Arm ſhould be thrown up, and whoever caught it falling, ſhould ſucceed in the Vizier's Place; but upon Terms to be ſerved the ſame Sauce at a Year's End. When the Croud was come together to catch this Arm, one Man, more diligent and dexterous than the reſt, caught it. So he was Vizier; and, at the Year's End, his right Arm was cut off, and thrown up as before, and he himſelf, with his left Arm, caught it again; and after his ſecond Year, his left Arm was cut off and thrown up, and he caught it with his Mouth. This is to ſhew what Men will ſuffer to gain a Preeminence over others. The *Turks* live under arbitrary Government; but then moſt of them, though ſubject to ſome, are ſuperior to others; and have ſuch an Itch after Tyranniſing, that none would accept of Liberty and Security by Laws, upon Terms to quit his Power of tyranniſing over others, in his Turn at leaſt, as it may happen. And, to ſay Truth, few People, among us, clamour againſt arbitrary Government with any other View than, by that Means, to gain Power, which they may exerciſe arbitrarily over others. And our Merchant, returning into *England*, fell into the Heat of this Rage, which flamed round, but did not hurt him, as will be diſplaid in the Sequel.

Story of a Vizier, that repulſed a diſſatisfied Suitor.

He told us a Paſſage which, in *Turky*, was related, not as an Apologue but, as true. A clamorous *Turk* had a ſtale Pretence againſt a Man, which he had proſecuted without Effect. Upon the Advancement of *Cuperli* the good Vizier, he applied to him, alledging that he had ſought for Juſtice before diverſe Viziers, one after another,

ther, and had been denied; but now his Vizierſhip was in that Place, *He did not doubt but he ſhould obtain Juſtice from ſo great and good a Man as he was.* The Vizier riſing up, *You Dog*, ſaid he, *do you think I come to mend the World? Was it not a cuckoldly World from the Beginning; and ſhall it not be ſo ſtill? You ſay that ſo many Viziers did you wrong; and do you expect that I ſhould do you right? Chick.* This Story, ſetting aſide the *Turkiſh* Huff, has a good Moral, which is that, when Cauſes have had the ill Luck to miſcarry diverſe Times, it is better to let them drop wholly, than to revive ſtale Pretences, only becauſe a little better Title is ſhewed; for *ut ſit finis Litium*, or, *that there may be an End of Quarrelling*, hath more of Juſtice, than that old Law-ſentence, that *Right never dies.* For, if that were true, one might ſafely ſay, no Man living hath a Title to his Eſtate.

A Device for lifting Water.

Our Merchant, that always courted mechanic Arts, ſeldom overlooked any that were put in Practice where he reſided; eſpecially if ought appeared ingenious, or out of the common Way, in them. Some Particulars I remember he hath ſpoke of; and one was a Device for turning up Water, wherein a Man uſeth the Strength of his whole Body, Hands and Feet alternately; whereas, by the common Uſe of a Winch and Crank, a Man applies only his Arms, and thoſe not with equal Advantage of Force in all the whole Turn. In this Device, upon the *Axis* of the Roller, there are four Bars ſo adjuſted, that a Man ſitting on his Rump, and applying Hands and Feet alternately, the Hands, one after another, drawing, and the Feet, one after another, crouding, the Bars ſucceed in convenient Reach, and, being forced, fall into Place for the Foot to take that which the neareſt Hand lets go; and ſo, one Hand and one Foot ſtraining together, and taking Turns, great Weights may be eaſily raiſed, and, at leaſt, one Man do the Work of two.

The Uſe of *Jezzo* in Shell-work.

He hath often ſpoke of the admirable Uſe they make of what they call *Jezzo*; which is a fluid Mortar, ſuch as we make with burnt Alabaſter. They make projectile Shells of Brick, which hang to a Wall over the Fire Hearth. And it is done only by fixing the Bricks edgewiſe firſt to the Wall, and then Edge to Edge; and the Cementing is done by wetting a little of the Powder in Water, with which they dab each Brick; and ſo, hand-holding them a little together, they are faſt; for the *Jezzo* ſets, as they call it, immediately. By this Means they make the Shell overhang into the Room above a Yard; and it has no other Support than the Strength of the *Jezzo*, and the Plaiſtering over it.

They

They frame all their Glaſs in *Jezzo*; and the Way is to uſe Clay upon a Board, in Rolls laid about, to anſwer the Pieces of Glaſs, however figured: And, as the Shapes are made, the Glaſs is ſo laid, that the Edges overhang the Clay, and yet do not touch any other Glaſs. Then the like Rolls of Clay are laid upon the Glaſs juſt over the other; in which Manner there is made a Channel that takes hold of the Rim of every Piece of Glaſs; for the Edges of all the Glaſs fall in that Channel. Then another Board is brought over, and preſſed upon the Whole; and ſo the Channels are perfectly cloſed. This done, the *Jezzo* is poured in at the Top, and runs round about, and all over, in thoſe Channels, and the Liquor, embracing every Piece of Glaſs, is every where continued. This ſtands full till it is dry, and (as it becomes hard as a Stone) they part the Boards, and take away the Clay; and the Glaſs is held faſt by a Frame of *Jezzo*, and is ſtronger than one would imagine it to be. But one Thing is to be remembered, which is, that the Glaſs is not placed near the Line of the Wall without, but within the Houſe; whereby it is not ſo much expoſed to Weather as ours is; for probably, if it were more expoſed, this *Jezzo* Frame would decay.

Framing-glaſs for Windows in *Jezzo*.

In *Turky*, Diving is a Trade, and, as it were, incorporated, and, as other Trades, hath its Maſter who judgeth the Divers according to certain Regulations. And here I may obſerve a Conformity of Authority that will take Place in all Regions and Countries. With us it is a Mixture, as King and Parliament; ſo Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citiſens; Maſter and Wardens; Governor and Directors of Companies. There it is the Grand Signor alone, his Subſtitute the Vizier, the Baſhas, Cadis, Governors of Trades, Caravan Baſhas, *&c.* which have no Adjunct to the ſingle Governor. So he of the Divers is a Governor of the whole Faculty: And better Juſtice is to be had, before him, againſt any of the Trade, than is to be expected here from a Confederacy, as will appear by a ſhort Story, which concludes this Paragraph. But theſe Divers will do Wonders. All the Brick, made for the Uſe of Building, is taken by Divers from the Bottom of the Sea, and being put in Baſkets, they riſe with them upon their Heads, and throw the Clay into a Lighter, and go down for more; and ſo they work all the Day long. Theſe are the Men that take up Coral, Spunge, and Shell-fiſh from the Rocks; and it is ſaid their Education is ſo ſtrict, that a Diver cannot marry till he can ſtay a certain Time under Water. As to the Juſtice of their Governor, our Merchant told us, that once a Man, coming over from *Pera*, near the Key at *Conſtantinople*, dropt a Purſe of Money, which is about one hundred Pounds. Thereupon they ſent for a Diver, and he went down, and buſked about a long Time, and then came up and ſaid there

The Divers, a Trade, and their Juſtice.

was no ſuch Thing. They were ſo ſure of the Place where the Money was dropt, that they believed they had got a Rogue of a Diver, and immediately ſent for the Maſter, or Governor, of the Divers. He came with a Retinue of Divers, and ſat him down upon the Key, and heard Teſtimony in Form, as if he had been a Judge. Then he commands two of his choice Attendants to go down and bring up the Money. They went, and found that the other Fellow had taken it from its Place, and hid it behind a Timber that belonged to the Key. The Maſter took his *Premio*, gave the Merchant his Money, and, for Juſtice and Example, laid down the roguiſh Diver, and had him drub'd before their Faces; and ſo he went away in the ſame State as he came.

The making of Tobacco-pipes.

The Merchant uſed to ſpeak of the extravagant Manufacture of Tobacco Pipes. They conſiſt of hollowed Wood, in Lengths, neatly turned, and let into one another, and, withal, curiouſly painted over, and ſet off with Rings of diverſe Colours. And all this is done in the Street by a Fellow, that buckles his Limbs in ſuch a particular Manner, that he makes a Turning-lathe of himſelf. But in a Word; he contrives, with his Feet, Knees, *&c.* to hold his Material ſo firm, and commodious for his Purpoſe, as is wonderful to obſerve. A Man may beſpeak a Pipe, and ſee it made before his Face; and thereby have a better Entertainment than Smoak and Stink for his Money.

Fiſhing in the *Helleſpont*.

They have a clever Way to catch Sea-fiſh. Four Poſts are ſet ſquare, and made faſt in the Sea; and a ſquare Net is let down by Pullies from the Heads of theſe Poſts; ſo that, by drawing one Cord, all the four Corners ſhall riſe together. This not lying cloſe to the Bottom of the Sea, the Fiſh are not afraid of it; but ſwim over in large Shoals; and the Man upon the Seat may eaſily diſcern them. Then, as he gives the Signal, thoſe, in the Boat, hale as quick as they can; and ſo all the bolt Ropes of the Net riſe above the Water, and all the Fiſh are ſafe in the Hollow of the Net. Then the Boat comes, and, clawing by the Net, they draw the Boat about, and take in all the Fiſh. I might, to theſe, add more of the like Nature; but I fear too many would be faſtidious.

Difficult to know *Turky* well.

As to the true Knowledge of the *Turkiſh* Government and Policy, with the Genius, or true Reaſon of their Proceedings; or, in a Word, the true State of their Empire, our Merchant uſed to ſay, it was very hard to come at it, even by thoſe that lived and dealt amongſt them; of whom very few came away with much of it: And that, which he gathered, was owing to the Advantages he had by the Language; for that gave him an Opportunity to converſe with all Degrees of the Inhabitants, and to pick up what they were pleaſed

to

to drop of their Schemes. He had alſo a large Sphere of Tranſaction with the great Men of the Law and the Court, not without uncommon Familiarities, and Friendſhips, with diverſe of them: And, to all this may be added a furious Curioſity in himſelf, not without ſome Penetration, and Aptitude, to diſcern and apply what fell in his Way, loſing nothing that might be inſtructive to him. He ſaid the very *Dragomen*, or Interpreters they uſed, were ignorant of it; and he could ſcarce ever rely upon their Skill; but was forced to uſe his own Wits, and when he had need to be nicely inſtructed, then, if poſſible, to get Information from ſome learned *Turks*. And he ſaid farther, that the Book of Sir *Paul Rycaut*, of the Religion and Manners of the *Turks*, was very ſuperficial, and, in Multitudes of Inſtances, erroneous. And that once he, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Friends, went over that Book, and noted in the Margin the Faults, with their Corrections: But the Book, with other Curioſities of his own gathering and procuring, was purloined from him. He ſaid, the *Turks* are very ſhy and incommunicative; and many of them think that *Gowers*, or Unbelievers, are unworthy of the Knowledge of their ſublime State, and will not be brought to diſcourſe freely of it; as the Subjects of moſt *Chriſtian* Countries are pleaſed to do, when they gratify Strangers that are inquiſitive. And one may gueſs how hard it is for *Engliſh* Merchants to know *Turky*, if we reflect what ſtrange Notions thoſe *Aſiatics* have of the *Engliſh* State, that come and live here, and, according to the Meaſure of their Inquiſitiveneſs, may be informed. How can it be otherwiſe then, as we find, that ſuch ſtrange Notions and Miſtakes of *Turky* paſs vulgarly amongſt us?

A juſt View of the *Seraglio* taken.

Whether our Merchant brought away with him any Projection of the inward *Seraglio* or not, his Writings may ſhew. But it is certain that he gained a juſt Profile of the Outſide of it; being a View of the whole, as it appeared from one of his Windows at *Pera*, over againſt the *Serrail* Point. It was done with a Pen, between him and a *Virtuoſo* that lived with him, on like Occaſion as I mentioned before. It expreſſed every Lodging, Pleaſure-houſe, Roof, Window, Garden, Tree, and whatſoever of it appeared to their View, in exact Proportion. And I have heard him ſay, that he could make Affidavit to the Truth of every Particular expreſſed in it; there being nothing added, or omitted, for ſetting off, or on any other Account whatſoever. It was almoſt entirely finiſhed; only ſome of the remote Parts, and not much, wanted hatching. After he came into *England*, he had a Fancy to have a Picture made after this Draught; and he inſtructed a good Landſcape Painter in the Colouring, *&c.* who hath made a very decent Piece of it; and that, with the Original, is

is now in the Hands of his Son. Whether this Gentleman was a ſingular *Virtuoſo*, as well as Merchant, or not, the reſt of his Life will make appear.

Moderately vicious abroad; ſtrictly virtuous at home.

I am now drawing up cloſe to another great *Criſis* of this Gentleman's Life; which is his Return for *England*. And it will be obſerved, that I have here ſcarce made a Man, but ſomewhat more, of him; for where are his Faults, without which no Man lives? I cannot ſay I have concealed any that I knew; and having little or no Information of him but from himſelf, I may not find out, what no Man is apt to diſcover of himſelf, his unjuſtifiable Actions. But if I may be ſo free, as to give my Thoughts of his Morals, I muſt allow that, as to all the Mercantile Arts, and Stratagems of Trade, which could be uſed, to get Money from thoſe he dealt with, I believe he was no Niggard; but as for Falſities, ſuch as cheating by Weights or Meaſures, or any Thing that was knaviſh, treacherous, or perfidious, even with *Jews* or *Turks*, he was as clear as any Man living, but tranſacted and dealt, in all Reſpects, as a Merchant of Honour. As to Debauchery, I have enough clear'd him in what hath been ſaid. But as to Women, while he was in *Turky* (barring the Exceſs) I mean ſuch Looſes and Eſcapes, as almoſt all Men, there, are more or leſs guilty of, I cannot altogether wipe him clean. For I have heard him ſpeak of a Lodging he took, in the Houſe of a *Greek* upon the *Helleſpont*, for *Spaſſo*, as they call their Diverſions; and, though he did not expreſsly declare it, I gueſſed that *Spaſſo* to have been *Spaſſa* of the feminine Gender. But he knew the Country ſo well, as not to be guilty of great Exceſſes in that, or any Kind; for they are very dangerous.

Strange Education of a Child.

He mentioned a Spy-hole he had, from his Room, into the Houſe of another *Greek*, who had a Female Slave that brought a Child; and that little Infant was kept without any kind of Cloaths, or Covering, more than is provided for a Puppy Dog; and it had a Kennel under the Stairs, and Straw to lie upon. When the Servant was free, ſhe went and ſuckled and cleaned it; but what was chiefly remarkable was this. It had a going upon all four, exactly like a Monkey, and trotted, and then galloped, or walked; and ſo it would come up to the Table when the Maſter was at Dinner, and ſit on its Bum, holding up the Paws, begging for ſomewhat to eat; and what was given it, it ate as a Dog doth; and ſometimes it had a Box on the Ear, and, as a Dog, was bid begone; and then it galloped away to its Kennel again. It was a mortifying Reflection, to conſider how little this Animal differed from a common Brute. Here is all I can ſay or think Evil of my Subject; but, after his Departure for *England*, I have nothing, but what is ſtrictly virtuous, to relate of

of him. Therefore beforehand I muſt deſire that other may not be expected from me.

Againſt the Time that general Ships arrived from *England*, upon the Return of which our Merchant intended to embark, he employed his Time in Preparatories. He was reſolved not to leave his Affairs behind him in Diſorder. He conſidered that, although he left his own Brother upon the Spot, whoſe Care and Application would be no leſs than his own, yet his Experience, and, it may be, Penetration in Buſineſs, was not equal to his own. Beſides, he deſired to leave him engaged in as little Brigue and Trouble, as was poſſible, that he might go on in the Management of the Factory with Courage and Satisfaction. And he was ſo far at Eaſe that, if he left any Thing which had been better brought away, it would fall into his Hands, whom he loved almoſt as himſelf, and withal took Care to leave him in full Plenty, and well provided of all Things fitting for him. He made a new Set of Books, which contained a Tranſcript of thoſe of the *Ragion*, in which he had any particular Concern; and thoſe he ballanced to the Time of his coming away. He choſe, for his Ship, that of which Captain *Cook* was Commander, who was a good conditioned Man, and agreeable Company. Preparation to come away.

The firſt Launch was down to *Smyrna*, and there he went aſhore; how long he ſtaid, and what Merriment was made, is not much material. After Leaves taken in due Manner and Form, they ſailed, and touched at *Tunis*, which is in the Bay where old *Carthage* ſtood. They went aſhore there, and were entertained by the Conſul Reſident. The Shallowneſs of the Bay of *Tunis* is very ſtrange; for there was ſcarce Water to keep their Boats afloat; and very often, upon Touching, the Seamen ſkipped overboard, and heaved the Boat off. One would think ſo large a Sea ſhould, in Time, ſand or ſylth up. The Viewing that Place, and being informed of the State of the *Turkiſh* Government, and the Powers there, muſt needs be agreeable to him. It appears he was ſo full of it, that he thought fit to diſcharge his Memorials upon Paper; as I find by the following Account of his Penning, Stopt at *Smyrna* and *Tunis*.

Voyage from Smyrna, *with an Account of* Tunis, *containing Matters little known in* Europe, *by Sir* Dudley North.

'SMYRNA, *March* 27, 1680. We departed from the Town 'by the Ship's Boats, which had then laid a full Week at the 'Caſtles, where all the Day was ſpent in Feaſting and taking Leave 'of Relation of the Voyage, and of thoſe Places.

'of our Friends. Towards Night we all ſet Sail; but, the Wind 'being freſh out of the Sea, by our ſhort Tacks to get out, we made 'but little or no Advantage. So we came to an Anchor again at 'Night, and lay all next Day, which was *Sunday*. Our *Smyrna* 'Friends had left us the Day before; ſo we went and dined aboard 'the *Maſſingbird*, and, after Dinner, walked on Shore to the hot 'Waters, ſome two Miles, or better, from the Caſtle. It was a 'pleaſant Walk, being all even, or elſe an undiſcernible Aſcent.

'The hot Springs are ſeveral; over one of which, in paſt Ages, 'hath been a conſiderable Building, as may be ſeen by its Ruins; 'but now there remains one Vault, where there is a Ciſtern, into 'which both hot and cold Water runs, to make it fit for People to 'endure; the which is ſometimes uſed by the People of the adjacent 'Villages. Near this, there runs a conſiderable Brook; in the Skirts 'of which, two Springs of hot Water riſe up near one another; 'the one too hot to be endured, the other more temperate. They 'lie ſo near the Brook, within its Verge, that, on the leaſt Encreaſe 'of Water, they are overflowed.

'Next Day betimes, our Fleet got under Sail, the Wind being 'N. W. ſo that we turned it out of the Cape; which all did not 'compaſs till Midnight, when we bore away before it, and had the 'Weather fair and favourable till we came, paſt *Malta*, in Sight of 'the Iſland of *Pantalaria*, where ſtrong Weſt Winds came up; 'againſt which we lay, with Difficulty enough, for a long Time, 'and to our no ſmall Vexation, having, for about eight Days con-'tinually, the Iſland in our Sight. This made us reflect on a Story 'that goes of another Iſland hard by, called *Lampadoza*, which they 'ſay is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted Building, or 'Church; on one Side whereof, there is an Altar for the *Chriſtians*, 'and, on another Place, for the Devotions of the *Turks*; and ſo it 'is by all eſteemed holy. In this Building, they ſay, are always 'found moſt Things neceſſary for Seafaring Men; Cloaths of all 'Sorts, Cordage, Biſcuit, *&c.* and a Treaſury of all Sorts of Money, 'though in no great Quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, 'to ſerve their Occaſions with what they find and need; but they 'muſt be ſure to leave in Value ſomewhat elſe that may be equally 'needful on other Occaſions, be it Money or Goods; which if they 'perform not, it is ſaid they can never ſail from the Iſland, but will 'ſtand ſtill in the Sea, be the Wind never ſo freſh. For this Rea-'ſon, it is ſaid that, whenever any Veſſels, or Gallies of *Corſo*, come 'here, who are full of lawleſs needy Rogues, they, that command 'in chief, have Care to ſend ſome principal Man, to ſee that nothing 'be embezzled by any of their Company, for Fear of being puniſhed

'by

'by the Winds, *&c.* The Stories of this Place made ſome Merri-
'ment amongſt us, taxing one another, as if, at leaſt in former Voy-
'ages, we had taken ſomewhat ſacred, for which we endured this
'Croſneſs of Weather.

'But in fine, be it how it will, we are freed by a fair Gale,
'which, in little Time, put us about ten Leagues weſtward of Cape
'*Bon*; when, as if it had done its Buſineſs, it turned about again
'with ſuch Fury, that our whole Fleet bore up for the Bay of *Tu-*
'*nis*, and arrived before the *Goletta* the fifteenth of *April*. We lay
'there all Night, not thinking it ſafe to venture ourſelves aſhore,
'in a Place where had been ſo great Confuſion, till we could hear
'from thence. On the Morrow our Conſul, Mr. *Francis Baker*,
'and Mr. *Barrington* came off to us in one of their Town-boats.
'After we had dined, they invited the Captains and Paſſengers to
'go aſhore with them, all Things having been peaceable for a long
'Time; and accordingly, ſome that Night, and ſome next Morn-
'ing, we went aſhore; ſo that we were, at one Time, above ſeventy
'*Engliſh* in *Tunis* from the Ships.

'All the *Frank* Nations live in a Building, built by the Govern-
'ment on Purpoſe for them, diſtinguiſhed into three Houſes, one
'for the *Engliſh*, one for the *French*, and one for the *Jews* of *Italy*.
'It is a good, commodious, and very ſubſtantial Building, and for
'which they pay but a moderate Rent. The *Engliſh* Houſe is again
'ſubdivided into three ſeveral Houſes, or Tenements; only two of
'which are made Uſe of; the Upper part by the Conſul, and that
'next by Mr. *Barrington*, and ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants; the un-
'dermoſt ſtanding void. Under all theſe are large, fair, Magazines,
'all arched; ſo that they fear neither Fire nor Thieves.

'The Buildings of *Tunis* are all very ſubſtantial, the Country af-
'fording Stone and not Timber. All their Roofs are terraſſed, and
'the Bottoms of the Rooms tiled with ſmall Squares, black and
'white, which look not ill. Their Manner of Building is, gene-
'rally, to have few or no Out-lights, but all inwards to a ſquare
'Court, which is bigger, or leſs, according to the Largeneſs of the
'Houſe. In great Houſes they build their Rooms very ſtately and
'high; but their Rooms are generally ſmall and very long, and ſome
'of them narrow; by which Means, though dark, they are very
'cool, which muſt be their great End and Aim in the Buildings of
'this hot Country. They uſe Store of Marble in their Buildings;
'though they have none but what is fetched from *Genoa*, and
'other Parts of *Chriſtendom*.

'The ſupreme Government of this Place conſiſts in three Perſons;
'*viz.* the Grand Signor's *Baſha*; the *Dey*, or chief of the Soldiery,

'that commands the Caſtle, and lives in it; and the *Bey*, or Gene-
'ral, who leads out the Soldiers twice a Year to gather in the Tri-
'bute from the *Moors*. When the Government was more regular,
'all theſe met together in *Divan* or Town-houſe, and, with the
'Ancients of the Soldiery, conſulted of the Affairs of their State,
'and made Peace or War. The Government, taking it as it ought
'to be, differs nothing from the reſt of the Grand Signor's Frontier
'Provinces, or *Baſhalicks*. But this, being ſo far removed from his
'Power, did never long continue in due Obedience; but they, that
'firſt uſurped, were the Soldiery, who ſoon caſt off the *Baſha*'s Au-
'thority, and put it into the Hands of themſelves. The chief of
'them governing the great Caſtle, and diſpoſing of all Things as
'they pleaſed; and, he alſo being to be ſucceeded by the ancienteſt
'of his Fellows, helped by moſt Voices of his Soldiers, it ſoon
'came to be a popular Government of the Soldiery, who often took
'Occaſion to make Way for themſelves by cutting off their
'Leaders.

'They kept the *Baſha* ſtill as a Cypher in the Government, and
'ſtill employed him in the Payment of the Soldiers, letting him
'get ſomething alſo for himſelf, and wherewith to feed them at
'*Conſtantinople*. And he, contenting himſelf with this, lived well,
'and the Grand Signor was not offended. They always acknow-
'ledged to hold the Place as from him, and from Time to Time
'ſent their Preſents.

'The great Cauſe, of their late Evils, hath been from the too
'great Power of their *Beys*, or Generals, who, having grown
'vaſtly rich, and got that Government into their Families, have
'now, for a long Time, ſwallowed up the Authority of the *Divan*,
'and made them little better than their Servants; as they are at this
'Day, ſerving them in their civil Wars more like Servants than
'Maſters. In former Years, the *Divan* ſet the ſaid Office to ſale,
'every ſix Months, to ſuch as would give moſt for it. And then
'they accompanied, and what was got in more was the General's,
'and what it came to leſs, he muſt find; for the *Divan* would not
'want of that they had bargained to have.

'Not many Years ſince, a Veſſel was taken going from *Corſica* to
'*Naples*; wherein was one Slave ſo fortunate in the Service of his
'Patron, then *Bey*, that, under him turning *Turk*, he obtained his
'Liberty, and ſerved for many Years in the Camp as ſecond; and
'ſometimes was truſted by his Patron, and ſent out, as his Deputy,
'alone by himſelf. In this Manner he got great Riches, wherewith
'he ſerved himſelf in an Opportunity to outbid his Maſter, bidding
'more than he was able to give; and ſo he became *Bey* himſelf. In

'which

'which Place he not only continued, during his Life, but he left it 'to his Son who, notwithſtanding he came young to it, yet con- 'tinued it alſo, with great Authority, all his Life Time, and left it 'peaceably to his Children. The Father, that came from *Corſica*, 'was called *Morat Baſha*; his ſon *Sulliman Bey*, who had made his 'Intereſt mighty ſtrong by Alliances of himſelf, and his Children, 'with the great Families of the *Moors*, amongſt whom there is great 'Eſteem for their ancient Houſes; a Thing not known among the '*Turks*, except in their Royal *Ottoman* Family.

'At the Death of this *Sulliman Bey*, were left two Sons, *Morat* 'and *Haftſa*; to *Morat* he left the *Beylick*, and to *Haftſa* he aſ- 'ſigned certain Lands, and left him potent in the City; the Cu- 'ſtoms, and moſt of the Gallies and Shipping, belonging to him. In 'this Manner theſe two Brothers ſhared all the Riches, and Com- 'mand, of that Kingdom for many Years, creating whom they 'pleaſed *Dey*, or Governor of the Soldiers. *Morat*, little regarding 'the Grand Signor's *Baſha*, and going continually with the Camp, 'cultivates his Intereſt by all Means of Authority, and Alliance with 'the *Moors*. He matched his two Sons, *Ali* and *Mahmet*, with 'their beſt and moſt potent Families, intending to divide Things be- 'tween his Sons, as his Father had done.

'And in order to leave them in quiet Poſſeſſion and Peace, he, in his 'Life Time, makes *Mahmet*, his eldeſt Son, *Bey*, and ſends him 'out with the Camp; in Poſſeſſion of which he was when *Morat* 'died: So that the youngeſt Son, *Ali*, was, as it were, left unpro- 'vided for, and at the Diſcretion of an elder Brother and Uncle. 'This Uncle, though he had lived in great Riches and Eaſe, all the 'Time of his Brother *Morat*, yet now aſpires to the Command 'himſelf. And this he knew not better to effect, than to make 'Differences between the Brothers *Mahmet* and *Ali*, putting *Ali* on 'Pretenſions to an Equality with his Brother *Mahmet*; and to com- 'mand the Camp by Turns, one to go with the Summer, and the 'other with the Winter Camp. And they not agreeing in that 'Manner (as how could it be thought they ſhould?) the Uncle '*Haftſa* ſo works with the *Turks* of the Caſtle and Town, that it 'was ſoon thought needful for the State, to create him *Bey* over 'them both; which *Beylick* he pretended to take upon him, only 'as an Expedient, for the Peace of the Kingdom, till Things could 'be equally divided between the Brethren.

'All he did was in Favour of *Ali*, whom he protected againſt 'his Brother *Mahmet*; and *Ali*, not being able to deal with his Bro- 'ther, gave Place to his Uncle, at leaſt for the preſent. *Mahmet*, 'finding Things go thus, immediately, with what *Turks* he could

'join with him, flies up into the Country to his *Mooriſh* Relations, 'raiſing a great Force, with which he takes in ſome of the Out-'caſtles, and makes down to *Tunis* with a Power that *Haftſa* was 'not able to reſiſt. Nor would the *Turks* in the Town ſtick by 'him at all; but immediately declared for the Son of *Morat*; and 'that they would know nothing of *Haftſa*. But now, they ſaid, he 'would embroil their Country with Wars between him and his 'Nephews; and, to prevent that, they threatened him with Baniſh-'ment, and afterwards pronounced it.

'But *Haftſa* was ſo wiſe, as to retire to *Tripoli* before the Storm, 'or before his Nephew *Mahmet* returned to the City; at which 'Time he knew how it would fair with him.

'When *Mahmet* was peaceably eſtabliſhed in the *Beylick* of *Tu-'nis*, his Brother *Ali* carried himſelf ſo well, as to act nothing vio-'lently againſt him, but let him live in Quiet, and concerned not 'himſelf in the Government, giving Poſſeſſion of all the Lands and 'Country that had been aſſigned *Haftſa*, by their Father, for his 'Maintenance; and would have done the like with all the fine 'Houſes and Gardens, *&c.* of *Haftſa*, now, in *Tripoli*; but thoſe '*Mahmet* refuſed to meddle withal.

'*Haftſa*, now, in *Tripoli*, ſeeing no Good to be done there, 'having great Riches with him, tranſports himſelf for *Conſtanti-'nople*; where he, by great Expence, procures the Grand Signor's 'Command for the *Baſhalick*, which was now void by the Death of '*Uſaph Baſha*, and writes to his Nephew *Mahmet*, that he would 'content himſelf with that. But *Mahmet* not truſting him, and 'fearing alſo his Brother *Ali*, whom he knew ſecretly to affect '*Haftſa*, let fall Words, as if he never ſhould have Peace till he 'had cut him off. This being carried to *Ali*, he provides for his 'own Safety by a ſpeedy Flight to *Algier*, where he meets with but 'ſlow Promiſes of Aſſiſtance to recover his Patrimony. But in the 'End, finding himſelf deluded, and his Money to conſume, he be-'takes himſelf to his Father in Law, a *Moor* of a potent Family, 'by whoſe Means he gets together a conſiderable Army, which makes 'his Brother *Mahmet* begin to look about him.

'*Haftſa*, in the mean Time, comes from *Conſtantinople*, with 'ſome hundreds of Soldiers he called *Janizaries*, to take Poſſeſſion of 'the *Baſhalick*; but was ſome few Days too ſoon; *Mahmet* being 'in the Field fighting his Brother: And his Deputies in the City 'kept him out, not ſuffering him to land. Thereupon he returned 'back to *Turky*; for he could not prevail with his *Turks* to wait 'upon the Coaſt, to hear the Succeſs of the Forces of the two Bro-'thers. It ſeems they found themſelves already deceived; being all

'along

'along told, that they ſhould be joyfully received by the People at '*Haftſa*'s Arrival; and they would be no longer abuſed, but made 'him ſail to the *Morea*, which, in great Meaſure, was his Ruin. 'For *Achmet Baſha*, the Vizier *Azem*, who had taken his Money, 'and inveſted him with the *Baſhalick*, was dead, and *Cara Muſta-'pha Baſha* ſucceeded. He, hearing that the Country of *Tunis* had 'refuſed *Haftſa*, and that he was returned to *Navarrin*, and being 'deſirous to make his Market alſo of him, and at leaſt to get his 'Predeceſſor's Gleanings, immediately ſends and brings him to *Con-'ſtantinople*, where he, to his great Regret, receives Diſpatch on 'Diſpatch to come for *Tunis*; of which City and whole Territory 'his Nephew *Ali* was poſſeſſed not above three Days after he had 'ſailed from thence for the *Morea*. But now he was in the Pound, 'and *Cara Muſtapha* would not part with him, but kept him there 'a great while, and firſt permitted him to ſend one Ship away to 'fetch Money, all his firſt Treaſure being conſumed; which Ship 'alſo was ſlow in coming back. At laſt, with much ado, he gets 'away and comes to *Tunis*, is received as *Baſha*, though not ſo kindly 'uſed by his Nephew *Ali* as he expected; for his long Abſence had 'worn off ſome of the former Kindneſs. And *Ali*, having now 'eſtabliſhed himſelf, and ſo long ſubſiſted without him, cares the 'leſs for him, and, poſſibly, would rather have had his Room, than 'his Company; as appeared by ſeveral Slightings of him, and not 'giving him Poſſeſſion of his ancient Patrimony, in which *Ali* was 'inſtated by his Brother *Mahmet* at *Haftſa*'s firſt Flight to *Tripoli*. 'All which *Haftſa* ſees he muſt now be contented with, and ſub-'mit to.

'*Mahmet* all this while, holds himſelf ſtrong in his Caſtle of '*Kef*, ſome few Days Journey from *Tunis*; to which Place he had 'carried great Treaſure, and whither the Diſcontented of the *Turks*, 'that *Ali* had, by his Cruelty, diſobliged, and ſeveral of the fickle '*Moors*, daily reſort; ſo that with them, and his Wife's Kindred, 'again he takes the Field. He had conſiderable Advantages againſt 'his Brother, who now again was forced to retire up into the Country, 'and preſently marches to the City. And they, making ſome Face 'of Reſiſtance, yet, on the firſt Summons, let him in; and all *Ali*'s 'Friends retired to the great Caſtle, and fortified themſelves there. '*Mahmet* lays cloſe Siege for about two and twenty Days; but, not 'being able to reduce it in that Time, he found it needful to retire, 'to encounter his Brother, who was coming upon him with a great 'Force of *Turks* and *Moors*. And thoſe he was well nigh overcom-'ing by a Stratagem; for when *Mahmet* was come into *Tunis*, all 'the Government, that were Friends to *Ali*, retired into the Caſtle.

'*Mahmet*,

'*Mahmet*, not being able to take them, would, at leaſt, create 'new ones in their Steads; and, out of the *Turks* that were 'with him, he makes over again all the Officers of the *Divan*, as 'much as if he had taken the Caſtle, and cut them all off. Now, 'going to meet his Brother with his Camp in this Manner, he ſends 'ſome of his *Turks* to his Brother's Camp, to inform the *Turks* there, 'that he was poſſeſſed of the Caſtle of *Tunis*, and had cut off all 'his Enemies; and that now all the Power and Government of the '*Turks* was with him; aſking, why they would fight againſt their 'Brethren, *&c.* Whereupon all the *Turks*, in *Ali*'s Camp, imme-'diately leave him and join *Mahmet*; which had been his Ruin, 'had he not forthwith ſet upon them with his *Moors*; which he 'did ſo ſuddenly, and ſo violently, that he cut off many of them, 'and routed all the reſt; his Brother *Mahmet*, with but a few, 'eſcaping to his Caſtle of *Kef*. So that *Ali* comes with Triumph 'to *Tunis*, rewarding his *Turks* who had ſo faithfully kept the great 'Caſtle for him'.

Diverted with the ſailing to *Alicant*.

This concludes imperfect; but I gueſs it was intended to have been continued through the Voyage home. What elſe happened to him of Moment, muſt be ſupplied by what I have gathered from his own Diſcourſe. His Condition in the Ship was much improved beyond that of his Embarkment for *Archangel*. Then he was a raw Novice, or meer Underling; and neither Maſter, Mate, nor Mariner would deign to afford him any Participation of the Sailing-account, as he very much deſired. But here he was Lord *Paramount*, commanded his Captain, and did what he pleaſed. He was in at all the Obſervations and Accounts of the Ship's Way, Journal-keeping, Chart, and the pricking of the Ship's Place. He found, as he ſaid formerly, that the Captains perform all this Work mechanically, by the Help of Tables, out of which they extract all their Sums; and, for doing it, they have a Rule; but act without any Notion, or Idea, of the Truth of that, which they are at work upon. If a Man tells a Sailor, that, if he ſteers directly N. E. he ſhall at Length find himſelf in the Pole, he will not apprehend it; but rather deſpiſe the Ignorance of him that propoſes ſuch an Affront to his Chart. But (Matters of Skill apart) it is certain that, between Reckoning and Gueſs-work, they do wonderfully direct a Ship from one Part of the World to another; and, for the Means, it is with them to determine, whether they can make themſelves underſtood therein, or not. In this Voyage, the chief Care of the Merchant was to find himſelf Employment to paſs his Time, which, upon the Sea, was always faſtidious to him. He had the reſt of the

Fleet

Fleet to obſerve, and the Characters of the ſeveral Veſſels to comment upon, ſome windwardly, ſome not ſtay well, ſome ſlugs, ſome ſail hard upon a Wind, and fall off at large, with the Reaſons, and the Humours of the Winds in the *Mediterranean*. Theſe ſerved to divert the Time till they arrived at *Alicant* in *Spain*.

The Paſſage over Land to *Cadiz*.

In that Port our Merchant, and ſome of his Company, went aſhore, and choſe to travel over Land to *Cadiz*, rather than ſail round by *Gibraltar*. In this Journey by Land, which was over great Mountains, they had no better Carriage than a ſlight Cart or two. The Paſſage was very delightful to the Merchant, who loved extremely to ſee new Places, and ſuch ſpacious Views as he had from thoſe *Spaniſh* Hills. But the Lodging, little better than in the open Air, was their greateſt Mortification. One Evening they came to a little Barn upon an Hill, and promiſed themſelves a good Night's Sleep there. But the Driver was obſerved to be very buſy in making his Bed under his Cart. One of them aſked him, why he would not lodge in the Barn; he anſwered, becauſe he would not be eaten alive; that is by the *Cimici*, which are of the Sort of, but much worſe than, our *London* Buggs. This was a ſeaſonable *Item*. The Merchant, and his Crew, made alſo their Beds in the Carts; and ſo reſted as well as they might. He told us of vaſt Herds of great Beaſts that he ſaw upon the Hills, and about the Country; which was a great Surpriſe to him, becauſe he had heard what a beggarly Country of Fleſh *Spain* is. Theſe Herds, as they were told, belonged to ſome of the Grandees of the Country.

Diverted by Marine Experiments in the Voyage from thence.

Our Merchant was not ill qualified to travel in this Country, and to converſe in the great trading Towns; for he ſpoke *Giffoot* very fluently, which is a corrupt *Spaniſh*: But becauſe the *Jews* write it in *Hebrew* Characters (which he alſo could do) it is called *Giffoot*, or the Language which the *Jews* ſpeak; ſo, having this Dialect at Command, he was his own Interpreter. I ſuppoſe they did not ſtay long at *Cadiz*; for, as ſoon as the Ships were come about, they went aboard, and purſued their Voyage. And now the Want of Diverſion began to preſs more than before; and they contrived diverſe Amuſements to ſupply it. The Seas, in that Voyage, being very deep, they fell to trying Experiments by letting down Bottles into the Sea. They had the *Dipſy* (or Deep-ſea) Line at their Command; and with this they let down an empty *Florence* Flaſk well ſtopt, and found that, at one hundred Fathom, or leſs, the Flaſk conſtantly broke. Then they let down a common Glaſs Bottle tightly ſtopt, and in no Depth could they find it would break; but, ſomewhat beyond the former Depth, they found the Cork always thruſt into the Bottle; and, giving Depth enough, this Event never failed.

Theſe

Theſe Experiments demonſtrate the Weight of Fluids, as of other Bodies, according to Quantity, which is gaged by the Perpendicular.

Surpriſed an old Woman; and came to his Brother.

With theſe, and many other ſuch Amuſements, they contrived to paſs the tedious Time at Sea, till they came in Sight of dear *England*; and then *look out* was the Word. The Merchant had Entertainment enough in obſerving the Coaſt, and, coming into the River, his Heart was full; and he no ſooner landed, but he got Information where his beſt Brother lived, and, embarking in another Sort of Veſſel, a Hackney Coach, ſteered directly thither. His Brother was then Lord chief Juſtice of the common Pleas; and his Lady was dead; ſo, he not affecting to be altogether alone, it fell to my Share to be almoſt conſtantly with him. The Merchant came to his Lordſhip's Houſe at about eight in the Morning, when we were in Bed. The Houſe-keeper had been formerly his Lordſhip's Laundreſs at the *Temple*, and knew well her Maſter's Brother ſo early as when he was at the Writing-ſchool. She was a pthiſical old Woman, and could ſcarce crawl up Stairs once a Day. This Gentleman appearing with his Muſtaccio's, according to the *Turkiſh* Manner, *Cordubee* Hat, and ſtrange out of the Way Cloaths, juſt as if one had been dreſt up to act Captain *Dangerfield* in the Play, ſhe ſtood ſtaring at him; and he, knowing her, called her by her Name. By that ſhe knew that it was her Maſter *Dudley*, and flew up Stairs, to tell the News, as if ſhe had been a Girl of ſixteen; ſo forthwith he was conducted up to us. Theſe Particulars are mentioned to ſhew, what Spirits ſudden Joy will inſpire.

Wore his *Turkiſh* Garb ſome Days.

It is to no Purpoſe, to deſcribe the Circumſtances of this Congreſs. It will readily be conceived to have been ſufficiently happy. After a Quarter of an Hour's Converſation, we ſent him to a Chamber to refreſh, whilſt we got up; and coming together again, it was pleaſant to obſerve his Figure; ſo bizarr was his Face and Dreſs. His firſt Demand was a Taylor, a Taylor. The Taylor came, but could not finiſh his Office, in civiliſing a *Barbare*, under two Days; and all that Time he wore his *Dangerfield* Habit and Beard. It was pleaſant to ſee him manage his Muſtaccios; for, being apt to treſpaſs upon the Mouth, they were always, by an Action, habitually put by, before drinking, one Way and the other. But yet the Beard would have a Share out of the Glaſs, and was made clean again by another habitual Action of ſipping the upper Lip. This Garb may ſeem very monſtrous to us here; but, in the *Levant* Cities, Cloaths are not more neceſſary than a Beard to one that writes Man. After a certain Age, nothing is to be taken from the upper Lip; but, underneath,

derneath, all is ſhaven clean away; and more than that is infamous. But now the Weſtern Uſages muſt govern.

With the Taylor came the Barber, who, like Time with his Scythe, mowed down this fertile Crop. And the Merchant himſelf could not but be ſurpriſed to ſee his own Face in a Glaſs, after the Muſtaccio's were departed; and, turning away his Head, laughed at himſelf. Such Power hath Cuſtom over Mens Sentiments and Opinions; for he could not help being aſhamed of his Face. It was a conſiderable Time before this upper Lip, having been long ſhaded from the Sun, took the ſame Tawn as the reſt of his Face; but, looking white and pale, made a ſtrange Disfigurement. And it was Matter of Ridicule to ſee him always, before drinking, act with his Fingers to part away his (then) no Beard; and, when he had done, to ſip his upper Lip, although the Mop, to be cleaned, was gone. In the Courſe of Action habitual, Reaſon and Reflection ſtand by. A ſtronger Power is in Poſſeſſion, and muſt be removed, not by Aſſault, but, if at all, by a long Siege. The greateſt Part, of what we act in our Lives, is more Machinery than the Effect of either Will or Reaſon. The Power of Cuſtom.

His Father, the Lord *North*, had then been dead for ſome Years; but his Mother was alive, who had nurſed him in the Plague, and had been immeaſurably fond of him; and not without Violence to her Affection, and out of Reſpect to his Good, had parted with him to go into all the Hazards of a ſupra-cargo Merchant. I may ſay ſhe was revived by the News of his Arrival, and more by a Sight of him; for, as ſoon as he was accoutred, he took a Journey down into *Suffolk*, to pay his Duty to her. After a decent Time ſpent with her, he returned to *London*, where he had large Concerns to ſuperintend. He continued, for ſome Time, to lodge with us, at his beſt Brother's Houſe. Where, according to his former Uſage, when any great Alteration of his Condition, or Circumſtances happened; his working Mind, about ordering his Affairs in a fit Poſture for his future Management of them, would not let him ſleep all the Night. It was the Cuſtom, at firſt, for his Brother, who generally roſe before ſeven, to go into the Merchant's Chamber, and there finiſh his Dreſſing. And he always found him awake, and complaining he had not ſlept. But, upon his leaving him, he ſlept ſoundly till ten or eleven; whereby he loſt his Morning, which he could not endure. He perceived that this Want of timely ſleeping grew to be a very great Inconvenience. This made him reſolve to take his old Courſe, and make a thorough Cure at once. Accordingly he reſolved, whatever became of him, ſleep or not ſleep, to riſe when his Brother roſe, and ſo to ſecure his Mornings to better Sleeping out of Time cured.

Purpoſes than droning abed. He took this Courſe, and declared that, for four Nights together, he was not ſenſible that he had ſlept at all; but, on the fifth Night, he ſlept with a full Gale till Morning, without any waking at all. This, as was noted, ſhews that Men may conquer any Inconveniences, that grow by Cuſtom, if they are not wanting to themſelves in Courage and Reſolution. And, it is certain, that Want of timely Sleep, if not obſtructed by ſome Diſeaſe, may be cured by a Pertinacity in watching; for Nature will have the Reſt ſhe needs, and, in a State of Health, will ſecure it againſt all the Noiſes and Diſturbances whatſoever, as may be obſerved by the deep Sleep of poor Seamen, who are (as they call it) overwatched.

His Mother dying, he acted for her Executor.

It fell out that, juſt at our Entrance upon the Weſtern Circuit, News came that the good Lady *North* was dead, and had made me her ſole Executor. We had, at that Time, the Misfortune of an elder Brother's Importunity, who was not contented that any of our common Concerns ſhould paſs quietly and ſmooth; and he, being Heir at Law, might enter; after which, the Management of the perſonal Eſtate would be very difficult. Wherefore, to prevent great Inconveniencies, ſince it was not in my Power to attend in Perſon to diſpatch the Goods forthwith out of the Houſe, as was thought neceſſary to be done, I entreated him to go down and finiſh that Work for me. He moſt willingly undertook it; and, after his Arrival, he there firſt ſhewed what an Agent of Diſpatch he was: For, in little more than a Week after the Funeral, he had clear'd the Premiſſes of all the Goods, except a few which were left for the Heir, to have his Option to take if he pleaſed; being what could not be removed without Prejudice to him. He was ſo obliging to declare we muſt, in a Time, take all that belonged to us, and, after that, he would permit nothing to be removed. This made the Merchant ply his Time. One Difficulty he had, which was to get out the Brewing Veſſels; for the Doors were too little for them to paſs; and he could engage none of the Family to ſaw out a Threſhold to make Way, for that was a Treſpaſs to the Freehold. But he and his Foot-boy went to work, and cut it out, and the Veſſels were rolled into an old Moat, and from thence carried away. He had an aching Tooth, as they ſay, at the Mill-ſtones of a Water-mill; but the learned told him, thoſe were Part of the Freehold: Otherwiſe he made no Account but, as a true Factor, to accompliſh his Buſineſs, according to his Rule and Truſt, to Perfection.

His Art and Induſtry in working.

He wrought every Day in Perſon, taking down, ſorting, diſpoſing, and contriving Packs, which he did according to Art, and beyond the Skill, I had almoſt ſaid the Pains, of a Porter. The Neighbours, as

as the Cuſtom is on ſuch Occaſions, for Curioſity, came to ſee what was doing; he little minded them, but went on with his Buſineſs. They were in admiration at his perſonal Induſtry, and Art in employing others. Before he had quite finiſhed his Work, the Heir at Law made a Deſcent upon him; and, then, litigating was added to Labour. And this happening when the Beds, all but one reſerved for his Uſe whilſt he ſtayed, were ſent away, the Litigants were forced to lie together in that one Bed at Night. After we came together, and he gave us the Hiſtory of his Pains-taking, among other Grievances, one was, that, after ſcolding all Day, his Brother and he were forced to lie together all Night. I told him in merriment, that was the leaſt thing of a thouſand, for *moſt Men and their Wives did it continually.* But, as to the Buſineſs itſelf, he gave me Books, in which were regiſtered, not only the Accounts to a Farthing but, every Bundle and Parcel by Marks, or Letters, with the Contents in each, particulariſed to a Trifle, and where they were ſent or diſpoſed: So that, notwithſtanding the Hurry of moving, and ſending Things away to ſeveral Places, I had a Digeſt of the Whole, and could go to the Place, Parcel, Drawer, *&c.* to find any thing I had a mind to. This I remember as a Piece of Juſtice; being all I can return for ſo ſingular an Act of Friendſhip: And let that, which I think enough, excuſe the ſeeming ſmall Import of this Memoir.

Settled as a Merchant in *London.*

In *London* he found that his Buſineſs, which was very conſiderable, made it needful for him to have Warehouſes, and to converſe near the *Exchange*, and in a mercantile Way, that ſo he might readily carry Perſons to ſee his Goods; which could not be done, whilſt he lived, and converſed, moſt at the other end of the Town. Whereupon he took a Lodging, together with ſome other Batchelor Merchants, in an Houſe that was kept by a Gentlewoman of good Value and Appearance, the Widow of a Merchant deceaſed; and there they had their Diet alſo, at a certain Price: And, I am perſuaded, any one of them might have been Maſter of the Houſe, whenever he pleaſed. But, although they did not differ upon that Point, or any thing elſe, he, who had been ſo long *Padron di Caſa*, or, *the Governour of a Ragion*, was weary of that boyiſh Courſe of Life, and reſolved, by the firſt Opportunity, to take an Houſe, and live after his own Way. At length, he found a good convenient Houſe in *Baſinghall-ſtreet*, with a Coach-Gate into the Yard, next to that which Sir *Jeremy Sambrook* uſed; and there he ſettled. He had the Opportunity of a good Houſekeeper, that had been his Mother's Woman; though ſome thought her too fine for a ſingle Man, as he was, and might give Scandal, and occaſion his Habitation being called *Buſſinghall-ſtreet*. But, when he, that had a Command of himſelf,

did what he thought reaſonable, he always ſlighted what People, at a diſtance, ſaid of it. Here he found himſelf Maſter of all that belonged to himſelf, and could have the Pleaſure of returning the Civilities of his Friends, by entertaining them as he pleaſed.

Diſliked paying and receiving by Bankers.

Living in this Way, he applied himſelf wholly to Buſineſs, and did not dream of any thing to happen that might divert him. He found diverſe Uſages in *London* very different from what had been practiſed, in his Time, there, or in any other Place where he had lived: As, firſt, touching their running Caſh, which, by almoſt all Sorts of Merchants, was ſlid into Goldſmith's Hands; and they themſelves paid and received only by Bills; as if all their Dealings were *in Banco*. He counted this a fooliſh, lazy Method, and obnoxious to great Accidents; and he never could bring himſelf wholly to comply with it. For, having taken an Apprentice, one *Fairclough*, the Son of a Presbyterian old Uſurer, he paid and received all by his Caſh-keeper, in his own Counting-Houſe, as Merchants uſed to do. But, at length, he was prevailed on to uſe *Benjamin Hinton*, a *Lombard-ſtreet* Man; and, for acting therein againſt his Conſcience, was puniſhed with the Loſs of about fifty Pounds. But others loſt great Sums by this Man; and his Breaking made a great Shake upon the *Exchange*. I remember, he hath come home (for, at firſt, he was, as I ſaid, with us) in great Amaſement at his own Greatneſs; for the Banking Goldſmiths came to him upon the *Exchange*, with low Obeyſances, *hoping for the Honour—ſhould be proud to ſerve him*, and the like; and all for nothing but to have the keeping of his Caſh. This preſſing made him the more averſe to that Practice; and, when his Acquaintance aſked him where he kept his Caſh, he ſaid, *At home*; *Where ſhould he keep it?* They wondered at him, as one that did not know his own Intereſt. But, in the latter end of his Time, when he had left the City, and dealt more in Truſts and Mortgages, than in Merchandiſe, he ſaw a better Bottom, and uſed the Shop of Sir *Francis Child*, at *Temple-Bar*, for the paying and receiving all his great Sums.

Offended at clipt Money; with the Uſe of a *Beſaſtein*.

I ſhould here mention another Thing that much ſurpriſed him; which was the clipt Money. He obſerved, and wondered, that it was current; and he could not be perſuaded, but that he took ſo much leſs for his Goods, as the Money wanted of Weight. But I have ſo much to remember upon this Head, that, having reſerved a Place expreſs for it, no more is ſaid here; but I proceed next to mention the Want of a Convenience in *London*, which was admirably ſupplied in *Conſtantinople*; and that was the *Beſaſtein*. This is a Place like the *Exchange*, built of Stone, and very ſtrong; it was Proof againſt Fire, as well as againſt Thieves. There, Goods of all kinds were

were taken in for ſafe Cuſtody, and delivered out again, upon Payment of a very ſmall *Premio*. The Manner of Diſpoſition in it is much like that of the King's Warehouſe at the Cuſtom-houſe; where is an Order, and Servants, whereby any Thing, taken in, may readily be found, and brought forth. In the upper Part, there was a perpetual Outcry, or Sale of Goods, not, as here, in a ſort of Office, till all is diſpatched, but by Men running about from one Place to another, and crying the Price. There a Man may go for his Diverſion, and, ſitting down, obſerve; for inſtance, a Scymitar: *So much bid for this*; *Who bids more?* You may look on it; and, if you ſay any thing more, away runs the Fellow, and cries it; and, if he finds no more bid, he brings it to you, and it is yours for your Money: And ſo, for almoſt every kind of thing, that any Man deſires or uſes, it is odds but he is accommodated. While our Merchant was a young Beginner in *London*, he wanted many things, and he believed they were eaſy to be procured; but thoſe, that wanted him, could not find him any more than he them. Then he complained of his Want of the *Conſtantinople Jews*, that, in ſuch Caſes, brought Buyers and Sellers together: But of them before.

Another thing, new to him in *London*, was the Coffee-Houſes. There were ſcarce any when he was laſt before in *England*; and, for certain, none at all when he firſt went out. At *Conſtantinople* they had Coffee, but no Coffee-houſes; for thoſe were not ſuffered; it having been found that the People, by a Tendency to Sedition, made an ill Uſe of them. In *Conſtantinople*, the Coffee, with a Furnace and Utenſils, is carried about the Street upon a Man's Breaſt, as they do Baskets of Wares; and, if any one hath a mind to a Diſh of Coffee, he calls the Coffee-man (one or other of them, like our Porters, being commonly within hearing) and ſits him down and drinks it. If one would gratify the Workmen in a Shop, there is no ſuch thing as asking them to drink; they will anſwer, *They are not adry*; but they will be very thankful for a Diſh of Coffee; and then the Coffee-man is called. Nay, there are Men ſo charitable as, by a Vow, to ſpend their Lives in carrying Water about, which they offer to all People; and thoſe, that are hot and dry, accept their Courteſy. This ſhews that, in thoſe hot Countries, the Gift of *a Cup of cold Water* was not ſo deſpicable as it is thought to have been.

Coffee, but not Coffee-Houſes in *Conſtantinople*.

But, to repair to *London* again, from whence we were ſlipt back. Our Merchant, finding the great Trading Companies in Credit, and himſelf a Stranger to that ſort of Dealing, and that moſt of his Friends and Acquaintance were concerned in one or other of them, thought fit to buy Stock, in the Royal *African* Company, to ſuch a Value as might qualify him to be of the Committee for Direction of the

Bought Stock in the *African* Company, and made Director.

the Trade; and, accordingly, he was choſen. He applied himſelf to attend and manage, as he thought became him, and he was bound to do. By this he had two Advantages; one was, the being let into the Knowledge of Trade in Companies, and of this in particular; the other was, making himſelf known, and what his Abilities, in the Management of all Sorts of Buſineſs, were. And here it was that, in the Opinion of the *Exchange*, he firſt did Juſtice to his Character. For he was ſagacious to take the Subſtance of any Matter, at the firſt Opening; and then, having by proper Queſtions more fully informed himſelf, could clearly unfold the Difficulty, with all its Circumſtances of Advantage and Diſadvantage, to the Underſtanding of others. He was an exquiſite Judge of Adventures, and the Value and Eligibility of them. He was very quick at diſcerning the Fraud, or Sincerity, of many Perſons the Company had truſted; as alſo the Characters of thoſe that profered, and were examined, in order to be employed or truſted. If he once found that any Perſon was falſe, and had cheated the Company, he was ever after inflexible; and no Solicitation, or Means whatſoever, could prevail with him to cover or connive; but he laid them open as broad as the Day. It is often found that Men, in a publick Truſt, will give way to favour; and, for Poverty, Preſents, or Solicitation, indulge and intercede for what they would not bear in their own private Concerns. But, as to Matter of future Truſt, no Means could take our Merchant off a Knave's Skirts, if ever, in public or private Concerns, he had once found him out.

His Adherence to Rule nearly coſt him his Life.

This poſitive Conduct of his, however in itſelf commendable, had like to have coſt him his Life. Upon an Examination at the *African* Houſe, a Captain of a Ship was convicted of having defrauded the Company moſt groſly; and, indeed, it was by our Merchant's Acuteneſs and Skill, that the Diſcovery was made. Afterwards, this Captain, having ſoftened diverſe of the Committee, made his Applications for another Truſt. Our Merchant adhered to his Conviction, and would by no means conſent to his being employed again. He thought that, in ſuch a Managery, there was ſo much of Truſt, that, of Neceſſity, they muſt be, more or leſs, cheated; and all the Means, that could poſſibly be uſed, would not prevent it. Therefore, when Cheats are once found out, to paſs them by, or connive, encourages Frauds; and they will have no Reaſon to expect honeſt Dealing: For Men are not honeſt by Principle, but by Intereſt, and Fear that relates to it; and it were all one as to throw up, and ſurrender the Company's Effects to be embezzled by thoſe that are truſted with them. Upon this, againſt the Inclination of ſome of the Committee, the Order was, that the Captain ſhould be held to Account, and not be

be farther employed; for, upon ſuch a ſtaring Detection as had been made, none could perſiſt in his Favour. But, after the Committee was up, and the Gentlemen moving about the Room, one went out and told the Captain whom he might thank. Thereupon the Captain enters the Room with his Sword drawn, and went directly towards Mr. *North*, who ſtood talking with ſome at the upper end of the Room, with a direct Intent to ſtab him. But, as he came near, one of the Merchants, perceiving his Sword, ſtruck it down; and ſo he miſſed his Purpoſe. Mr. *North* broke his Cane upon the Fellow's Head; which was all the Satisfaction he had for ſo dangerous an Aſſault; for he would not be perſuaded to proſecute the Man, to make him an Example.

Recommended by his Lordſhip, whoſe Intent in it was miſtaken.

The Lord Chief Juſtice *North*, finding his Brother falling thus pell-mell into Affairs of Trade; and perceiving, by his Converſation, that he had an uncommon Penetration and Capacity, both in general and particular Direction of Matters to be tranſacted by the Application of many Heads and Hands, thought, ſincerely, that he ſhould do his Majeſty a ſignal Piece of Service in recommending him to ſome Poſt, of which (in the Revenue Buſineſs) there were not a few that needed ſuch a one as he was: And if, withal, he did Good to his Brother, his Integrity and Service to the King his Maſter was never the leſs. Accordingly, he took an Opportunity to ſpeak of him to my Lord *Rocheſter* (then at the Head of the Treaſury) and told him, that he had a Brother, lately arrived from *Turky*, who underſtood Trade, and the Marine, perfectly well; and, he believed, it would be for his Majeſty's Service, if his Lordſhip thought fit to recommend him to any Employment in the Cuſtoms, or where ſuch a Perſon might be uſeful; and that, really, he believed that no Man in *England* was ſo well qualified to ſerve the King, as his Brother was. But his Lordſhip ſo little thought there could be an impartial Man in the World, that, for Anſwer, he only ſmiled; which was as much as to ſay, that he thought my Lord Chief Juſtice came to palm his Brother upon him. By this it appeared, that the Lord *Rocheſter* did not underſtand Men. But his Mind altered afterwards; of which more is ſaid in the Life of the ſame Chief Juſtice.

The Plot of *Oates* poſſeſſed the Merchants abroad.

But, now we are drawing near to the Public, I muſt remember what a reverend Opinion of *Oates*, and his Accomplices, our Merchant brought over with him. It was the Method of all the Fautors of the Plot, which bore his Name along with it, whether for Malice, or Ignorance, but more eſpecially the former, to cram down all indifferent People's Throats a Belief of it. Thoſe, that lived in the Time, muſt needs ſee the Credit it had, I mean with indifferent People, was more through Artifice, or rather Force, than right Reaſon.

ſon. And, according to this Scheme, the *London* Merchants, and particularly thoſe trading to the *Levant*, being generally among the Fautors, belaboured all their Factors with their Accounts of the moſt horrid Conſpiracy, *&c.* diſcovered by that Inſtrument of Providence, *Oates*. That the ſame Plot was ſtill carrying on, and they were not come to the Bottom of it yet; but they hoped, by the next Conveyance, they ſhould ſend them this ſame Bottom of the Plot. Thoſe, who had Relations or Friends abroad, and had other Sentiments of the Matter, did not, nay, dare not, write any thing in Derogation of *Oates*, or his Plot; for, ſuch a Letter intercepted and produced, the Writer had gone headlong into the midſt of it; at leaſt had ſuffered for traducing the Juſtice of the Nation. So the Intelligence ran all on one Side; and there is no wonder that *Oates* ſhould be ſo idoliſed, as he was, amongſt the Factors and Merchants at *Conſtantinople*: Our Merchant told us that, in all their Jollities, next to the King's Health, *Oates*'s was celebrated. But, they thought it very ſtrange that the next Letters did not bring the Bottom, nor the next; but ſtill, by the next, they hoped they ſhould have it. Thus our Merchant came home ſeaſoned; but, inſtead of finding the Bottom turned up, the Moon was in the Wane, and *Oates* was become almoſt a common Deteſtation. It was ſome time before we could, by Diſcourſe, give him a right Idea of our Public; ſo hard held he upon the Prejudice that was burnt into him, by Letters from *England*, about this deviliſh Plot. But, by degrees, he ſaw Daylight, and deteſted that Neſt of Villains as much as we did; and his Behaviour afterwards ſhewed him to be a true Convert.

Found us in high Flights of *Whig* and *Tory*.

He found us almoſt ready to go together by the Ears, about public Matters, which ſoon ſettled in the Terms of *Whig* and *Tory*. Thoſe were the Appellatives; but the Mythology was *Seditious* and *Loyal*; the Hiſtory of which is fully related in the *Examen*. Thoſe, who joined in all the wicked Practices to deſtroy the, then, preſent Government, and thoſe who endeavoured, by all juſtifiable Means, to ſuſtain the Credit and Authority of it (as there was need enough) againſt the Stratagems and under-hand Dealings of the others. The former were alſo diſtinguiſhed by crying up *Oates*'s Plot; and the others, by crying it down. And, upon ſuch Terms of Faction, Heats, Animoſities, Strivings, Tumults, Seditions, and what not of Diſorder, was grown to that Height, as made *Whitehall* ſhake; all which is fully made appear in the ſaid *Examen*. The *Whigs* declared a War againſt the Perſon of the Duke of *York*, who was unhappily declared a *Roman* Catholic; and they ſtirred up, and abetted Proceedings, ſolemnly to have him excluded from ſucceeding to the Crown. The *Tories* underſtood well, that this did not ſtrike more at the Duke,

Duke, than at the King himſelf: For, if the Excluſion paſt, the King muſt be deprived of his Magiſtracy and Militia, without which the Excluſion would not be ſafe; and that, which could not have been, modeſtly, aſked before, would then have been demanded; and the granting, what they aſked, would have made a Reaſon to aſk what could not, without the Ruin of the Public, be granted; and yet they thought they ſhould be able to extort it: And, for that Reaſon, they were impetuous for the Excluſion, even to Madneſs; or, as if they were fully bent, in the firſt Place, to extort even that.

Some Particulars omitted, and why.

I ſhall not here give any Account of this Plot of *Oates*'s, nor of the Monſter brought forth by it, called *Ignoramus*; nor of the Troubles about chooſing Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, becauſe a particular Account is given of all theſe in the *Examen*, and the Life of this Gentleman's beſt Brother, the Lord Keeper *North*. It may be found alſo in the ſame Life, how this Gentleman was perſuaded to hold Sheriff; I ſhall therefore omit that alſo, and proceed to ſome Particulars, not ſo exactly related there.

Means uſed, by Terrors, to divert him, but in vain.

As ſoon as he had determined to hold Sheriff, and that was known, the Agitators of the oppoſing Party were at their Wits end; for they knew on what Bottom the whole Machine reſted, *viz.* the Lord Chief Juſtice *North*'s Reputation and Authority. He was one whom, by all their Arts, Terrors, and Inſinuations, they could never ſeduce to move an Hair's Breadth from what he judged to be his Duty to the Crown: And that alſo he eſteemed to be his beſt Service to his Country; ſince that Way only he thought Juſtice and Peace in the Nation was to be maintained. He concluded that, with his Majeſty and his Government, the Church, and national Liberty, and the People's Safety and Property, muſt ſtand and fall together. And, beſides this Steddineſs, it was yet worſe; for, with his Skill in the Law, and known Adherence to Juſtice, for which he was celebrated by the Citiſens, among whom he had acted as Chief Judge for many Years, he had alſo an Intereſt and Authority in all the Counties of *England*, in moſt of which he was, not only loved but, revered. All this caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Cauſe of the Faction, as they could not bear. They turned every Stone, executed every Invention that could be contrived, to break this Syſtem. They bellowed and roared with univocal Noiſe, not only in the City but, all over *England*, that Sir *John Moor* and his Sheriff *North* ſhould both be hanged, for their daring to invade the Rights of the Citiſens. They applied to work perſonally upon Mr. *North*; for the Partymen, that were his Friends and Acquaintance, and even thoſe that were indifferent, came about him, wondering what he meant. *What?* ſaid they, *put yourſelf in a Place that is diſputed, and that with ſo much Rage and Fury? You'll certainly*

be undone: All, that he anſwered, was, *I'm a Citiſen, and I'll obey the City. If I'm called upon an Office, the Oath, I took as a Free-man, requires me to obey; and, by the Grace of God* (clapping his Hand on his Head) *ſo I will*, ſaid he, *and never break my Head about Titles.*

He was all this while unconcerned.

But, what was very remarkable, in the midſt of all this Bruit, when moſt People expected Mr. *North* ſhould not have come much abroad, or have appeared concerned, if not ſomewhat dubious, at a Time when his Name was broiling upon the Coals, being the Subject of all the Talk of the Town, and, as the Faction had ordered the Matter, Country to boot; yet he went about his Buſineſs, and walked the Streets to and fro, with all the Freedom and Mirth he uſed to ſhew, as if nothing ſtirring had concerned him. It was pleaſant, whilſt walking with him, to ſee Fellows in haſte ſtop at the Sight of him, and let him paſs by while they ſtared; and, in little Companies, on the other Side, People, in their Talk, looking and pointing towards him, as ſaying, *That's He.* This Behaviour was wondered at, and differently interpreted, according to the Complection of the Obſervers. The Partymen, who knew beſt why they were ſo concerned to retain their dear Impunity, reſted not, but were continually puſhing ſome Experiment, or other, to divert him. They found out his ordinary Friends, and wrote Penny-Poſt Letters about, that they might, for his own Good, which the Writers (forſooth) were tender of, diſſuade him: And not a few came, directed to himſelf, in the Guiſe of Good-will. At length, they called him *blind Bayard*, and made a ſtupid inſenſible Aſs of him, that underſtood not what he was about. And ſo this Bull-beggar Trade went on, till after the Election; which made Matter of Diſcourſe, and ſometimes Merriment, among ourſelves; but altered not the State of his Caſe one Jot.

They endeavour to hinder his Match, but in vain.

But one thing the Party did, which was really malicious, and might have had an unfortunate Turn upon him. They found out that, at this Time, he was in full Courtſhip of a Widow Lady, very beautiful and rich, the Daughter of Sir *Robert Cann*, a moroſe old Merchant of *Briſtol.* They cauſed Letters to be ſent to this old Gentleman, from ſome in *London* that he valued, intimating that his Daughter was going to throw herſelf away upon a New-Comer, that, all People believed, was not worth a Groat; elſe he would not act ſo deſperately as he did; for, if he went on, he would certainly be hanged. And the Lady herſelf was plied with Goſſips; but her Penetration was not ſo ſhallow as their Tittle-tattle. She lodged in the Houſe of an underſtanding Merchant, one Mr. *George Sitwel*; and, it is likely, the Gentleman gave a good Account of his Proceedings, both

both to his Lady, and the Merchant her Friend; and, as it fell out, all this Wind ſhook no Corn in that Quarter.

Not long after the Declaration of the Choice at the common Hall, there came to Mr. *Dudley North* a Summons to attend my Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. He attended, and was told that he had been duly elected, by the City at their common Hall, to be one of the Sheriffs for *London* and *Middleſex* for the next Year enſuing; and they required him to give the common Security to hold, or he muſt expect to be fined. He, in a ſhort Speech, diſabled himſelf, as a Stranger to, and unexperienced in, *Engliſh* Affairs; therefore not qualified for ſuch a Place: And, moreover, he heard much Diſcourſe touching the Illegality of his being choſen; and he hoped he ſhould not be put upon an Office of which the Right was diſputed. He was ordered to withdraw, and ſoon after called in, and told that the whole Court was very well ſatisfied of his Capacity for the Office he was choſen into; and, as to the Title, it was unanimouſly agreed by the whole Court (the five Aldermen of the Faction being then preſent) none diſſenting, that he was duly elected, and muſt ſerve. Thereupon he ſubmitted; and, having entered into Bonds with Condition to be ſworn into, and to execute, the Office of Sheriff, he was, for that Time, diſmiſſed. And, when the Time came, he was ſolemnly ſworn, and, paſſing the Forms, was allowed at the Exchequer. And the old Sheriffs turned over the Goals to to theſe new ones, in accuſtomed Manner and Form; wiſely determining not to refuſe that, for Reaſons already declared in the *Examen*. I might here mention an Attempt of the Faction, through Mr. *Fairclough*, to make Mr. *North* b—te himſelf, as they uſed to term it; but it is particularly related in the *Examen*, ſo ſhall not make any Repetition of it.

The new Sheriffs give Bond, and are ſworn.

During all theſe Turbulencies in the Public, Mr. *North* did not neglect his Main; which was to accompliſh his Match with the Lady *Gunning*. Concerning which, I muſt remember that, as ſoon as it was ſeriouſly thought of, I took upon me to write to Sir *Robert Cann*, her Father, with whom I was well acquainted, and propoſed the Match to him, ſetting forth Mr. *North* with all the Advantage I could. The old Knight returned an Anſwer, and, in it, an enorm Demand, *viz.* that when Mr. *North* had purchaſed an Eſtate, in Land, of three or four thouſand Pounds a Year (I know not which) whereby he might make Settlements ſuitable to his Daughter's Fortune, he would hearken to my Propoſition; but none, of leſs Eſtate in Land, muſt pretend to her. This was cold Water, and I deſiſted: But, when a good Advance was made in the Lady's Favour, ſhe adhering reſolutely to have her Father's Conſent, without

Sir *Robert Cann* denies his Conſent to the Match with his Daughter.

which ſhe would never marry, Mr. *North* himſelf wrote to Sir *Robert*, in general Terms, for his Conſent upon making ſuch Settlements as ſhould be approved. His Anſwer was to the ſame Effect, *viz.* that when he had produced his Particulars, *&c.* Then Mr. *North* wrote again a Propoſition to ſettle twenty thouſand Pounds to purchaſe an Eſtate, *&c.* The old Man anſwered thus, *Sir, my Anſwer to your firſt Letter is an Anſwer to your ſecond. Your humble Servant*, R. C. Mr. *North* returned, *Sir, I perceive you like neither me nor my Buſineſs. Your humble Servant*, D. N. And there ended the Correſpondence with the Father at that Time. But, in the mean Time, he had wrote to his Daughter, to ſhew her the Precipice ſhe was upon; going to marry a Deſperado, not worth a Groat, and one that would certainly be hanged.

The Match proceeds, and upon wiſe Meaſures accompliſhed.

But the old Man, at Length, finding this would be a Match, when the Duſt, raiſed by Party-work, was well cleared off, fell in; and, ſince he could not have his Will in the Perſon, he reſolved to have it in the Settlements. So, beſides what Mr. *North* ſettled, he muſt turn over all his Wife's Fortune, of all Kinds, for her ſeparate Diſpoſe. This done, he conſented; and the Match, with a very honourable Attendance, was ſolemniſed. But the Lady, whoſe Judgment and Penetration was ſuperior to moſt of her Sex, took Care, before ſhe went to Church, to commit her ſeparate Maintenance to the Flames, as being, for the moſt Part, a Make-bait, and never of Uſe but in the Caſes of young Folks, whoſe Characters are not known. Any one, that hath lived in the View of the World, as ſhe had done, might eaſily diſcern a good Man from a bad one. The many Marks of Family, Company, Reputation, Succeſſes, *&c.* ſeldom fail to indicate a Man's moral Character. It was almoſt impoſſible, but this Match muſt prove happy; for here were two Perſons to be joined, that were wiſe and ſincere, and who meant the ſame Thing, that is to make each other happy. I have heard Mr. *North* ſay, that he never feared an ill Wife if the Woman was wiſe; for then ſhe would go to her Intereſt; and he could make that ſo plain to her, as ſhe could not miſtake it. The only Thing he feared in a Match, was the being made infamous; which was in a Woman's Power to do; and there was no Means upon Earth to prevent it. He had not heard, I ſuppoſe, what a Gentleman ſaid, who, on that Account, had parted with his Wife. *It's true*, ſaid he, *I was a Cuckold; but now I am none, for I have cut off my Horns.*

His Lady's good Nature. Account of a Viſit to *Briſtol*.

But, to ſhew how this Lady condeſcended to oblige her Huſband after ſhe was married, I muſt obſerve that, contrary to her Nature and Humour, which was to be retired, ſhe kept him Company in public at his Feaſtings, ſitting at the upper End of the Table at thoſe

thoſe noiſy and faſtidious Dinners. And it did not a little illuſtrate his Happineſs in the midſt of theſe ſhrieval Troubles, when the Citiſens came, that a Lady ſo beautiful and rich, with her *belles Airs*, advanced, receiving and ſaluting ſo much Company. But it was to continue only for one Year; ſo ſhe endured it. The old Knight, her Father, came at laſt to be proud of his Son; for when the firſt Viſit was paid at *Briſtol*, Mr. *North*, to humour the Vanity of that City and People, put himſelf in a ſplendid Equipage. And the old Man, in his own Houſe, often ſaid to him, *Come, Son, let us go out and ſhine*, that is, walk about the Streets with ſix Footmen, in rich Liveries, attending. But when he found the ſeparate Deed given up, and the Furniture, ſhe had there, packing away, he was enraged, and told her ſhe was cheated, *&c.* He made her ſo afraid of him that ſhe durſt not ſtay in his Houſe without her Huſband, but choſe to accompany him over Sea to St. *Brevills*, where her Jointure lay, though ſick to Death (being breeding) rather than ſtand her Father's Diſcourſe to her. But all was well at laſt; as will be told afterwards.

When all the Forms of this ſhrieval Inſtalment were over, Mr. *North* received the Honour of Knighthood; which he would have declined, ſaving for two Reaſons; one was the Uſage of the City, which the Magiſtrates are commonly delighted with, and pay willingly for that Court-compliment; and his not embracing it had been taken ill of him. The other Reaſon was, that his Wife might not be ſtyled the Lady *Gunning*; which Separation, even of Names, he choſe to avoid. But, as to Honour and Place, that, which he had by Birth, was ſuperior. The great Alteration, viſible in the Faces of the Citiſens after this Election, has been taken Notice of in the *Examen*. And, as the Cuſtom of Feaſting, lately laid aſide, was now reſumed, Mr. *North* took a great Hall, that belonged to one of the Companies, and kept his Entertainments there. He had diverſe very conſiderable Preſents from Friends and Relations, beſides the Compliments of the ſeveral Companies inviting themſelves and Wives to Dinner, dropping their Guineys, and taking Apoſtle Spoons in the Room of them; which, with what they ate and drank, and ſuch as came in the Shape of Wives (for they often gratified a She-friend or Relation with that Preferment) carried away, made but an indifferent Bargain. The middle Templars (becauſe of his Relation to the Lord chief Juſtice *North*, who was of that Society) came with a Compliment, and a Purſe of one hundred Guineys, and were entertained. The Mirth and Rejoicing, that was in the City, as well at theſe Feaſts as at private Entertainments, is ſcarce to be expreſſed. It was ſo great that thoſe, who called themſelves the ſober Party, were

Applied to feaſting the Companies, *&c.*

were very much ſcandaliſed at it; and lamented the Debauchery that had ſuch Encouragement in the City; as is more particularly related in the *Examen*. It is however certain that Mr. *North*, who had a Set of Servants as good as he hoped ever to have, found that the looſe Living, during the Shrievalty, had ſpoiled them all; and he could not keep one of them after the Year was ended.

The Troubles of the capital Executions during the Year.

I omit the Share he had in compoſing the Tumults about burning the Pope, becauſe that is already accounted for in the *Examen*, and the Life of the Lord Keeper *North*. Neither is there Occaſion to ſay any Thing of the Riſe and Diſcovery of the Rye Plot, for the ſame Reaſon. Nor is my Subject much concerned with this latter, farther than that the Conſpirators had taken eſpecial Care of Sir *Dudley North*. For he was one of thoſe who, if they had ſucceeded, was to have been knocked on the Head; and his Skin to be ſtuffed, and hung up in *Guildhall*. But, all that apart, he reckoned it a great Unhappineſs that ſo many Trials for high Treaſon, and Executions, ſhould happen in his Year. However, in thoſe Affairs, the Sheriffs were paſſive; for all Returns of Pannels, and other Diſpatches of the Law, were iſſued and done by the Under-officers; which was a fair Skreen for them. They attended at the Trials and Executions, to coerce the Crowds, and keep Order; which was enough for them to do. I have heard Sir *Dudley North* ſay that, ſtriking with his Cane, he wondered to ſee what Blows his Countrymen would take upon their bare Heads, and never look up at it. And indeed nothing can match the Zeal of the common People to ſee Executions. The worſt Grievance was the Executioner coming to him for Orders, touching the abſcinded Members, and to know where to diſpoſe of them. Once, while he was abroad, a Cart, with ſome of them, came into the Court-yard of his Houſe, and frighted his Lady almoſt out of her Wits. And ſhe could never be reconciled to the Dog Hangman's ſaying *he came to ſpeak with his Maſter*. Theſe are Inconveniences that attend the Stations of public Magiſtracy, and are neceſſary to be born with, as Magiſtracy itſelf is neceſſary. I have now no more to ſay of any Incidents during the Shrievalty; but that, at the Year's End, he delivered up his Charges to his Succeſſors in like Manner as he had received them from his Predeceſſor; and, having reinſtated his Family, he lived well and eaſy at his own Houſe, as he did before theſe Diſturbances put him out of Order.

Choſen Alderman, and acted as Juſtice of the Peace.

The next public Station, he had, was that of Alderman of *Baſinghall*, in which he lived. He came in firſt by Election, and, after the Charter was ſeiſed, he held on by Commiſſion. This brought him into the Court of Aldermen, and gave him the Authority of a Juſtice

a Juſtice of Peace. That Office fell out to be more than ordinary troubleſome, becauſe, in the Diſcovery of the Rye Plot, it had appeared that the whole Confederacy reſted upon a conventicling Foot. Whereupon the King did not intend that Courſe of Connivance, which had given them Means of doing him ſo much Hurt, ſhould continue; but ordered the Magiſtrates to do their Duty, as the Laws required. The Informers had Encouragement enough; for they had a third of the Penalty paid as it was levied; and Conſtables were allowed for their Charges, or Time ſpent, in making the Levies: And, ſince they were invited to the Employment, there were enough to bring Buſineſs of this Kind to Juſtices of Peace, for the Time it laſted, all over *England*; eſpecially in *London*. And of this he had a full Share; and as to the Troubles, Loſs, and Scandal, that was intended to have been brought over him, and his Family, for what he did in that Capacity, another Place will ſoon declare.

His mild Behaviour as Juſtice of the Peace.

It is certain that he took very little Pleaſure in this Office; for, whenever People came with Buſineſs, and, as their Way is, to wrangle and ſcold before him, he uſed to ſit attentively (as they thought) obſerving them. When, in Truth, he was watching for Handles to get rid of them; and if he found any, he was moſt rigorous in not exceeding his Authority, and made the beſt of his Pretences to drive them all away. As, for Inſtance; upon Complaints for Breaches of the Peace; if he found out that an Action of Treſpaſs, or Battery, lay, he ſent them ſtraight away to the Law; and he was far from being good to his Clerk, by forward and frequent binding over. But yet, in Caſes that he thought belonged to his Office to order in, he never formaliſed, but determined as the Law required. He uſed to ſay he did not underſtand, when Buſineſs came properly before him, what Choice he had, as ſome Folks expected, to meddle, or let it alone. But he never went an Hair's Breadth out of the Way, to trouble, or grieve, any Body.

His Dealing in conventicling Caſes.

But now, as to what he did in the conventicling Buſineſs, I muſt crave Leave to extend my Relation, beyond the two Kings Reigns, whom he ſerved, into that of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and even beyond the Thread of his own Life. For the ſame Spirit, that gave him ſome Trouble while he was alive, when he was gone, continued to trouble his Widow and Relations that he left behind him. But, to give the Devil his due, it was not wholly a Spirit of Malice and Revenge, but of Covetouſneſs alſo; and that, perhaps, had the greateſt Share. When Informations of Conventicles came before him, he took the Examinations, and made the Convictions as the Law directs, and then gave out his Warrants to the Conſtables to levy; who, having raiſed the Money, brought it to him, and

and he firſt ſet off the Charges, and then gave one third, of what remained, to the Informer, and another to the Conſtable to the Uſe o the Poor, and the other third he kept in his Hands to be anſwered to the King. And of all this Proceeding he kept a Waſte-book referring to the Informations on his File; and, at fitting Times, paſt the Sums into his Journal and Leidger; and, of all Payments, kept ſpecial Acquittances.

The Project of conventicling Money.

This Trade laſted about nine Months; and then abated; and, at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, wholly ceaſed; and, at that Time, there reſted about one hundred and fifty Pounds, in his Hands, of what was due to the Crown. He was not aware of the common Uſage of the Juſtices, to pay this Money to the Clerk of the Peace at the Seſſions, and knew not well what to do with it. At length, being with my Lord *Rocheſter* (who, then, was at the Head of the Treaſury) and acquainting him with it, deſired his Directions what to do with the Money. His Lordſhip bid him pay it into the Exchequer, and ſtrike a Tally of Diſcharge for it; which he did; and the Tally expreſſed the Sum, and the Times between which it was levied. This was the beſt Acquittance he could have had for it. After the Revolution, the Fanatics were rampant, and made a full Account to meet with their old Friends in the Irregularities they expected to diſcover to have paſſed in the Proceedings againſt them. Among other Heads, this of conventicling Money, due to the Crown, and ſunk by the Juſtices of the Peace, was one. And making Account alſo that, in the Returns and Entries of the Clerks of the Peace, they ſhould find them all out, they ſearched all thoſe, and comparing their own Payments with the Books of the Clerks of the Peace, it appeared that very great Sums were wanting, and, as they concluded, were ſunk in the Hands of the Juſtices. And, in ſober Earneſt, as to ſome, the very Truth was ſo; whereby thoſe Juſtices became obnoxious. After they had finiſhed their Catalogue and Extracts, wherein Sir *Dudley North* had the Honour of a Place for above one hundred Pounds, they converted the whole to a Project, and, taking in ſome Courtiers for Shares, got a Grant of theſe Monies; and then ſet up an Office for Compoſitions. They ſent to all, that were, in their Liſt, peccant, to come and compound, or they would be proſecuted in the Exchequer. And of diverſe of theſe Sinkers, or careleſs Juſtices, that had never minded their Charge, they got conſiderable Sums of Money.

The Cauſe brought to an Hearing againſt his Widow, and diſmiſſed.

As for Sir *Dudley North*, they concluded they had him faſt; and, beſides the Money Matter, they ſhould diſgrace the pretended Man of Honour; for he was ſo thorough-ſtitch as never to have paid in, to the Clerk of the Peace, one ſingle Penny of all the great Sums levied

levied by him. Accordingly they ſent to him to pay ſo much, or he was to be proſecuted. He ſlightingly told them he had paid all, and had a Tally. They did not believe him, nor would they ſearch to know if he lied, or not; but put him into their Bill and charged him; but it was for a leſs Time and Sum than the Tally expreſſed. Whether his ſhort Anſwer diſcouraged them, or other Reaſons ſwayed them, I know not; but I do not remember that he was ſerved with any Proceſs to anſwer while he lived; but, after his Death, they ſent to his Widow to come to their Office and make an End; for elſe ſhe would be proſecuted. They found out his ſurviving Brothers, and adviſed them, out of Friendſhip to the Widow, and to prevent farther Charge and Damage, to make up the Buſineſs. But they defied them, and declared they would juſtify their Brother's Behaviour againſt all the World. So, at length, a *Subpæna* came, and the Lady was ſerved. She had muſtered up all her Papers and Accounts, and had her Tally of Diſcharge, and, by the Advice of Mr. *Ward* (not then Attorney General) anſwered; and, the Cauſe being heard whilſt he was Attorney General and Proſecutor, as to her, the Bill was diſmiſſed.

Some Notes upon this Proſecution.

There was ſomewhat very remarkable in the Proſecution of this Cauſe; for although Sir *Dudley North*, in his Life Time, and, after his Death, his Brothers, told theſe Agents of the Payment and Tally; yet they neither believed, nor ſearched to diſprove them. They acted as if they were loth to be convinced that their Stroke, at his Honour, muſt fail. *Ward*, that, as Counſel, and upon View of the Tally, ſettled and ſigned the Lady's Anſwer, yet, as Attorney General, proſecuted and brought her to Hearing; the Conſequence of which was Loſs of Coſts: For thoſe Juſtices, that were condemned, paid to the King's Coſts; but thoſe, that were acquitted, had none. At the Hearing, thoſe Brothers attending with the Tally, and to act the Part of a Friend, Mr. Attorney was diſturbed, and aſked what they came for. One of the Counſel at the Bar, though not in the Cauſe, anſwered, *To vindicate their Brother's Honour.* The Tally was thrown upon the Table, and the Barons, each one after another, ſpectacled it over and over, and ſcarce believed their own Eyes. But ſo it was; and there this Cauſe ended, verifying a great Truth in *Horace*,

Murus aheneus eſto,
Nil conſcire ſibi.

Called to ſerve in the Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms.

I come now to the placing Sir *Dudley North* in the Cuſtomhouſe, as a Commiſſioner for the Management of that Revenue. The Lord *Rocheſter*

Rocheſter was chief Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and laboured with all his Might to make the utmoſt Advantage to the King of all the Branches of his Income. There was one Sir *Nicholas Butler*, then the moſt active in that Commiſſion. He was a tall and bold Man, well voiced, of ready Utterance, and, in his Diſcourſe, perſuaſive, or rather overruling. He was full of Menace and Terror to thoſe that were his Inferiors, and who he thought feared him; but moſt obſequious to Superiors, and thoſe who could oppoſe or controul him. He was diligent, and, in acting, authoritative. He had good ruling Methods, which made him, in the Main, a good Officer. And he had been better, but for what follows, *viz.* he was corrupt, and did more Buſineſs clandeſtinely than aboveboard. He had uſed the Commiſſioners like *Yau-brethren*, to execute what he had by himſelf contrived. His Dictatorſhip was rampant in nothing more than in the Article of Officers, and the placing, or diſplacing of them. And, however the Collection leaned upon nothing more than this Branch, yet he had no Regard to Merit, but to his Creatures only; and laboured to fill the Managery with ſuch Men only, as ſhould fall down before him, and worſhip him. In a Word, he was the moſt active Commiſſioner, but a Tool of the *Popiſh* Intereſt; and, as that brought him in, he courted it to continue. After the Demiſe of King *Charles* the Second, he turned Stateſman, and, together with the Lord Chancellor *Jeffries*, the Lord *Sunderland*, and Father *Peters*, managed the Regulation of Corporations, in order to obtain a *Fanatic* Parliament, or rather, as I believe they intended, none at all, and uſed thoſe Ways to make Parliaments, in the Air of which he knew that he and his Co-operators could not live, impracticable. He was certainly a vile Inſtrument in carrying Things to ſuch Extremities as occaſioned the Revolution; and one may conclude deſignedly, if his being let live afterwards in his Houſe at *Edmonton*, obnoxious as he was, in full Peace, without the leaſt Queſtion or Diſturbance whatever, may be any Argument. How elſe could he have contrived any Way to have ſaved his Bacon? The Lord *Rocheſter*, however regardleſs of Sir *Dudley North*, when formerly named to him, was now pleaſed to ſend for him, and let him know that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure he ſhould be in the Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms. At that Time we had a Gueſs that he was picked out by King *Charles* the Second himſelf, to be placed there, as the only Man likely to poiſe *Butler*, who came in by the Duke of *York*; and the King did not like him, but could not well diſplace him. Sir *Dudley North* was ſteddy, clear, and reſolved, and thereby fit to give Check to the preſumptuous Ways of the other.

Having

Having now added to his Revenue a Penſion of one thouſand Pounds a Year, and ſome Preſents of Eatables, as *Weſtphalia* Hams ſeiſed, Spices from the *Eaſt India* Company, and the like, which came of Courſe, he thought (as moſt Men do that feel their Fortunes riſing) that he muſt live greater than he had done before. The rather becauſe his Lady, though affecting Retirement, yet, when ſhe did appear, loved to have a Parade about her; and often Childing brought Chriſtenings which, in the City, are uſually celebrated with much Company and Feaſting. And ſhe herſelf, being a *Briſtol* Lady, where Exceſſes, of that Kind, ordinarily prevail, was deſirous not to fail of what was on ſuch Occaſions expected: And he alſo, being a Commiſſioner, and otherwiſe concerned with the Court, had Occaſion to entertain great Men; and, in the Houſe where he lived he was too ſtreight, and wanted even the Conveniences that belonged to a *Turky* Merchant. All which Reaſons, not without a Q. *S.* of Pride and Vanity to ſeaſon the Meſs, and not a little repented of afterwards, he parted with his Houſe in *Baſinghall Street*, and took that great one behind *Goldſmith's Hall*, built by Sir *John Bludworth*. He furniſhed it richly, eſpecially one State-apartment of diverſe Rooms in File. The whole coſt him at leaſt four thouſand Pounds. His Repentance of this Piece of Vanity came on the ſooner becauſe this Houſe was ſituate among the Goldſmiths, and other ſmoaky Trades that, for the Convenience of the Hall, are very thick planted thereabouts; and their Smoak and Duſt filled the Air, and confounded all his good Furniture. He hath in Perſon laboured hard to caulk up the Windows; and all Chimnies, not uſed, were kept cloſe ſtopt. But, notwithſtanding all that could be done to prevent it, the Duſt gathered thick upon every Thing within Doors; for which Reaſon, the Rooms were often let ſtand without any Furniture at all.

Took a great Houſe, but in a bad Situation.

Being got into this great Houſe, he was capable of doing all his mercantile Affairs at home; and he propoſed to live in exact Order, and thereby be able to return Civilities, and entertain his Friends as became him. He made diverſe Chriſtening Feaſts, and invited diverſe of the Nobility, and others that were his Friends. He conſidered that he had not the Skill to direct modiſh Entertainments, which, being affected and ill performed, were as bad or worſe than none. Therefore, in the Perſon of a Citiſen and Alderman of *London*, he affected the City Forms, and had his long Tables covered plentifully, with the Officers and Proclamations, as the Way was at the City Feaſts. If theſe were not right, the Gueſts muſt blame Antiquity, and as well find Fault with the Shape of his Gown. Ordinarily he kept a very eaſy and plain Table; and, in Evenings, made merry with his Friends, who were of the firſt Quality and Employments,

How he lived there, and enjoyed his Friends.

that often came and ſupped with him. The Method, which we of the Fraternity uſed among ourſelves, was to ſpend, at leaſt, one Night in the Week with Sir *Dudley North*, which was *Thurſday*, and with my Lord chief Juſtice *North* on *Sundays*, till he had the great Seal; and then many more were added to his Nights; and I, that was no Houſekeeper, became an *Ubiquitarian* till his Lordſhip's Death; and then *Sunday* Nights fell to my Share. But, our Times coming to be known, Friends would often fall in to find us altogether, and, by that Means, Spies alſo had too much Opportunity to frequent us. Of which Kind Mr. *Henry Guy*, Secretary to the Treaſury, that frequently and familiarly came to my Lord Keeper *North*, was an egregious one. I once gave a ſlight Entertainment to this Mr. *Guy* and his Collegue *Charles Duncomb* the Exchequer Banker. His Lordſhip was then alive; but only Sir *Dudley North* was with me. We thought theſe had been our good Friends, as they had furiouſly profeſſed; but, in Truth, being Creatures of my Lord *Sunderland*, who was then entering again at the back Door of the Court, they came only to ſpy how his Lordſhip (their Grandee) was reſented amongſt us. So, without any Provocation, they fell to ſwearing what a divine Man he was; ſuch a Man, *&c.* And this ſo long that Sir *Dudley North*, to take them down a little, aſked, but very inadvertently, *How he came to be turned out of the Court before.* At that, they were huſh. They had what they came for, and ſaid not a Word more. But, from that Time, the Lord *Sunderland* declared open War againſt the Lord Keeper *North* and all his Dependants. So little Safety there is in the Converſation of Courtiers. But thus we ourſelves loved and lived in exquiſite Unanimity and Harmony; which was, upon Earth, too much of Happineſs to have long Continuance.

Sir *Robert Cann* ſent to the *Tower.*

Sir *Robert Cann* was choſen into the *Weſtminſter* Parliament in the Time of King *Charles* the Second, when the Antipetitioners and Abhorrers were mortified. It was found afterwards that a Rebellion was then hatching; and the Inſtruments were every where active, and particularly in *Briſtol*, where one *Row*, the Swordbearer, was as buſy in Miſchief as the beſt; and being accuſed in the Rye Diſcovery, he took to his Heels. About that Time there was, in *Briſtol*, a loyal Party much ſuperior to the Faction; and Sir *Robert Cann* was one of them. They all had found out that this *Row* was a Raſcal; and though he was their Officer, yet they held him in utter Deteſtation. But in order to lay hold on ſome Perſons, or Proceedings, in *Briſtol*, on Account of abhorring (the Hiſtory of which is to be found in the *Examen)* the factious Party cauſed this *Row* to be brought up to teſtify againſt ſome of his Maſters. Sir *Robert Cann*, ever paſſionate, violent,

violent, and haſty, was ſo provoked at ſuch his Appearing, that, in the Parliament Houſe, he ſwore *by G—d he was a damn'd Rogue.* For this Swearing, he was ſent to the *Tower*, where (being a little too ſtiff to kneel) he lay till the Parliament roſe. After which, he came out, and was entertained very civilly at his Son's Houſe. And then his Note was altered. He could ſay nothing to his Daughter, but Commendations of her Huſband, and what an heavenly Man ſhe had got.

Sir *Robert Cann* concerned in the Kidnapping at *Briſtol.*

But now, to make an End of Sir *Dudley North*'s Engagements on Account of his Father in Law; I muſt tell what happened in the Lord chief Juſtice *Jeffries*'s Viſitation at *Briſtol.* After the Rebellion of *Monmouth* was quelled, this Chief was ſent down into the Weſt with a Commiſſion of *Oyer, &c.* He had alſo a Commiſſion of War, which empowered him to command all the Forces in the Weſt. How Matters went at that bloody Aſſiſes, there are Memorials enough to ſhew. But ſo armed he went to *Briſtol*; and was there informed of an undue Practice of the City Juſtices, which was called Kidnapping; a full Account of which is to be found in the Life of the Lord Keeper *Guilford.* It fell out that Sir *Robert Cann*, though he ſat as Juſtice amongſt them, never had any of theſe Criminals, or any Benefit by the Proceeding. But the ſitting by ſilent, it ſeems, was Fault enough. He ought to have oppoſed and contradicted what was done; and ſo probably he had, if he had underſtood it. But *Jeffries*, having ranted his Fill there, came up to *London* with his Liſt of Aldermen of *Briſtol* to be proſecuted; and his Authority, as Lord chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, made the Buſineſs very terrible to all that were concerned. Sir *Robert Cann* was one; and expecting little leſs than utter Ruin, he came up to ſolicit his Friends to procure him ſome Mitigation, and to appeaſe the Rage of the Lord chief Juſtice *Jeffries.*

Sir *Robert Cann* cleared of the Kidnapping, but altering his Diet, died.

He came directly to his Son's Houſe; and there we conſulted, and, upon the Matter of Singularity and Non-corruption in his Caſe, we comforted the old Gentleman, that was ready to die for Fear; aſſuring him that, in the End, he could not be convicted, becauſe he did not expreſsly act. But that did not quiet his Mind. Somewhat muſt be done to ſoften the Lord *Jeffries* towards him. Thereupon we reſolved to go with him to his Lordſhip, and make the beſt Weather we could; which we did. And, it falling to my Share to be the Spokeſman, I extenuated the Matter as it deſerved, and begged his Lordſhip's Favour and Excuſe, ſo that Sir *Robert* might not be proſecuted. The Lord *Jeffries* ſtared upon us, and talked a great deal of the Enormity of the Offence, and what Puniſhment it deſerved for Example's Sake. At laſt, he came round, and *for thoſe*

two

two Gentlemens Sakes, ſaid he, *I pardon you for this Time; but go your way, and ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing come unto you.* We conned our Thanks, and came away with our *Briſtol* Knight a little better cheared. He paſſed about a Fortnight with his Daughter, continually idoliſing her Husband. But, although his Fears of the Law, or rather of my Lord *Jeffries*, were removed, yet his Spirits were ſo roiled with this Expedition, that he never heartily enjoyed himſelf after. We obſerved, and wondered at, the Alteration of his Diet. His Cuſtom was to drink Sherry, Morning, Noon, and Night; but now he took a Fancy to his Son's ſmall Beer, of which he drank extravagantly, and drank little or no Wine; and wonderfully pleaſed he was with his new Diet, and was much concerned he had not found it out before; for he had ſcarce drank a Drop in ſeven Years. But Nature would not long bear ſo great a Change, eſpecially in the declining Way; whereupon, ſoon after his Return to *Briſtol*, he died. He was neither very old, nor valetudinary; and, as he had lived in Splendour and Authority at home, he might have continued ſo for many Years. But Journies, Troubles, and Perplexities, are not a good Regimen for an old Gentleman of that Condition.

In the Cuſtoms juſt to the fair Trader.

We muſt now take our Way by the Cuſtom-houſe, and obſerve the Conduct of our Commiſſioner there. He was entirely ſatisfied with the Employment, becauſe all the Buſineſs of it, Trade, and Inſpection of Men in their Dealing, whether clear or reſerved, ſincere or fraudulent, and all the Concerns of Navigation and Commerce, with the Arts and Subterfuges relating thereunto, were familiar to him; and all the Diſpoſitions, and Methods of Proceeding in great Manageries, with the ſtrict Accounts that belonged to them, and the ſureſt Means to obviate Frauds, were in the Calendar of his Day-Labour, and practiſed accordingly for many Years. So that he never was at a Nonplus, but readily ſaw his Way through the moſt intricate Meanders of Cuſtom-houſe Buſineſs. He attended conſtantly, was juſt and equal to both Merchants and Officers. He encouraged fair Traders; which was beſt done by ſitting, as he did, hard upon the Skirts of Smugglers. For, if Cuſtom be paid by ſome, and not by others, it follows that, by their ſelling cheaper, the former are undone. By his Adherence to this, and other approveable Methods, he acquired a great Authority and Reputation in that Province.

Smugglers combine to accuſe him.

But, I muſt obſerve withal, that, together with all this, he was not free from Clamour; for, however the fair Merchants were ſatisfied, the foul ones joined in a common Cry againſt him; and no wonder, when he was to them a Rock of Offence, and to the Revenue, a Skreen againſt their Frauds. It is their conſtant Practice to move every Stone, to get rid of a good Officer, whom no Miſts will blind,

blind, nor Corruption infect. Such a one is a common Nuiſance; and if Calumnies, Lies, or any indirect Means, will confound him, they have a Magazine that will hold out. And, in that Age, when Parties raged, he being eminent on the one Side, the Smugglers took into the other, and talked of nothing but Illegalities and Oppreſſions, endeavouring, among the anti-court Party in the City, to make him thought the verieſt Tyrant upon Earth, and no better than a *Turkiſh* Baſha; and how far they went towards it, ſhall be touched. In the mean time, it was manifeſt, that all thoſe, who appeared publicly to charge him, were the moſt notorious Thieves of Cuſtom in the whole City; and very few of the fair Traders, and thoſe upon account of factious Spleen only, joined with them.

A Committee to inſpect the Abuſes in the Cuſtoms.

He was Author of diverſe new Artifices to obviate Frauds, and joined willingly in others that tended to the ſame end, whoever propoſed them. It may be expected, that I ſhould produce ſome Inſtances of theſe, becauſe they were diſtinguiſhing, and would tend to the Juſtification of his Management. But, however, at the time, I was well enough poſſeſſed of diverſe of them, I cannot now truſt my Memory; nor have I Acceſs to public Memorials, or other Means to recollect them; but, that they were conſiderable, what follows may evince. After the Revolution, when all his Enemies thought themſelves Favourites, and had full Liberty to bring forward all Matters of Complaint they thought would reflect upon, or any way hurt, him; the horrid Abuſes in the Management of the Cuſtoms, was one Topic exaggerated, in order to fall heavy upon Sir *Dudley North*. And, all that while, Sir *Nicholas Butler* reſted in Peace. This went ſo far, as to be carried into the Houſe of Commons; and there a Committee was appointed to examine and report theſe Abuſes. A new Set of Commiſſioners, at that time, had been put into the Cuſtoms, who were raw and, whatever they thought of themſelves, knew very little of their Work. Theſe had the Preeminence at the Committee; they ſat often, and made a great Noiſe with their Examinations; during which time, Sir *Dudley North* did not come near them, nor ſcarce asked what they did. At laſt they made two great Diſcoveries; one was, that they knew but little of the Buſineſs they had taken in hand, and could ſcarce come up to an Underſtanding of what the Merchants diſcourſed about the Cuſtom-houſe Affairs. For that Collection is ſo vaſt, multitudinous, myſterious, and, by various Laws, perplexed that, as of a Profeſſion, it requires the Life of a Man to be Maſter of it. I have heard Sir *Dudley North* ſay, that the Revenue of the Cuſtoms was made up of little Particulars; and that a Neglect of the leaſt thing is an immenſe Loſs. What is to be ſaid then, if Ignorance, Neglect, or perhaps Knavery, runs through the whole?

whole? The Public feels, though it knows not, the Conſequence. But the other great Diſcovery was, that all thoſe Regulations, complained of, were both legal, and reaſonable to be (as by even themſelves they were) continued; and by the ſame Degrees as Light, concerning thoſe Affairs, came into their Eyes, they diſcerned the Prudence of the former Commiſſioners. And ſo all this Buſtle, which was carried on with Threats, and other Tokens of Ill-Will, to Sir *Dudley North*, went off without any other Effect than his Juſtification. This was the firſt Stroke his good Friends, the Fanatics, after the Revolution, made at him. But others were intended, and, in their Time, furiouſly proſecuted as far as they would go. Whereof ſome, however roundly contrived, dropt ſhort; as, in the Sequel, will be declared.

Of the Commiſſioners, and his eſſaying at Algebra.

Of all his Collegues, in this Commiſſion, none acted with ſo much Vigour as Sir *Nich. Butler*. The next beſt of them was one Mr. *Dickenſon*, who, as I remember, was a Commiſſioner. Sir *John Werden* was ſo far from acting, that he did not pretend to underſtand what paſſed at that Board. He often leaned to Sir *Dudley North*, and ſaid he did not oppoſe what was determined, but deſired to be made underſtand it; and thereupon, in a few Words, he ſtruck him a Light. The Advantage Sir *Dudley North* had by this Gentleman's Company, was the learning of him a little Algebra, at which he was a Doctor. So, at Times, when they had Leiſure, they two were buſy at *Plus* and *Minus*, Convolution and Evolution; and Sir *Dudley* was extremely pleaſed with this new kind of Arithmetic, which he had never heard of before.

Inexorable in Caſes of Fraud.

But, in this Cuſtom-houſe Employ, one great Concern was, to comport with Sir *Nich. Butler*, whom he knew to be ſo well ſuſtained, that to break with him, was to break the Commiſſion. Therefore, although far from joining in all Meaſures with him, yet, if he brought the ſuperior Authority over the Commiſſion, they muſt all reſt ſatisfied. He did all the Service he might, and then thought himſelf abſolved. It was no ſmall Difference in their ſeveral Methods of proceeding, that, if *Butler* put in an Officer (for the Commiſſioners took that in Turns) and he were found faulty, *Butler* ſupported him, and contrived, by all the Ways he could, to fetch him off. But, if Sir *Dudley North* put in one who proved peccant, he himſelf was the firſt and fierceſt to expoſe and drive him away. In thoſe Caſes, Sir *Nich. Butler* always ſided for Sir *Dudley North*'s Man, endeavouring, all he could, to bring him off, expecting (as was to be ſuppoſed) that he ſhould make a kind Return, in fetching *Butler*'s Men off. But, Sir *Dudley North* was far from that Practice; and none ſo fierce and inexorable as he was, even againſt the very Men

Men that he himſelf had recommended; nor would he paſs by a Fraud in any Man. And, ſome pretending to him that there needed not ſo much ado about ſmall Matters, he ſaid, *So much the more, becauſe the Revenue* (as I ſaid) *was made up of ſmall Things ſwept together; and, if not ſtrictly conſerved, the Whole, like Sand, would ſlip through their Fingers.*

Troubled to reſolve Enigma's from the Treaſury.

Another Difficulty, he had to ſtruggle with, was to ſatisfy the Treaſury in many perplexed Enquiries, they thought fit to make, touching the Income of the Cuſtoms. There was, firſt, my Lord *Rocheſter*, a diligent Perſon, and diſſatisfied if every thing did not ſucceed as he expected. Then, certain of the Treaſury Officers, Mr. *Lownds* principally, collected the Totals of the Branches; by which it appeared, that ſome failed more than others; and diverſe Queries they made. The Lord *Rocheſter* ſent for the Commiſſioners, and, as from himſelf, gave them thoſe Papers, requiring their Anſwer: For, if there was not an apparent Reaſon why this, or that, Branch fell ſhort, he muſt take it to have proceeded from ſome ill Management; and, if he had not immediate Anſwers, he was apt to exceed in his Expoſtulations with them thereupon. Sir *Dudley North* deſired they might have Time to look back, and compare Years, and he doubted not but to give his Lordſhip Satisfaction. The Scrutinies, to be made on theſe Occaſions, were ſo voluminous and intricate, that no other Commiſſioner would attempt any thing towards them; but the Whole fell to the Share of Sir *Dudley North.* He cauſed all the Accounts of the Cuſtom-houſe, that he thought uſeful, to be brought to his Houſe; and there, in a tabular Way, he ſtated all the Branches, in the ſeveral Years, as far back as he thought would be needful; and, in that manner, he brought the whole State of the Revenue of the Cuſtoms into a Synopſis, upon the Inſpection of which, he could argue and infer; and ſo he made clear Anſwers to their Queries; *viz.* That ſome were miſtaken, others impertinent; ſome Trades had found new Channels; Prohibitions, or high Duties, affected others. If ſome failed, others augmented; for ſuch Concerns perpetually vary. And theſe Anſwers he returned in Writing to my Lord *Rocheſter.* It was thought there was ſome underhand Dealing, to puzzle the Commiſſion, in order to have a Colour to make Alterations: For, if the Revenue fell ſhort, and they could not tell why, it was a Sign they were ill Managers; and better muſt be found out. But, when ſuch an Intelligence appeared from the Board, as thoſe Men were not able to cope with (for, in Truth, no Man in *England* was a better Artiſt, at voluminous Accounts, than Sir *Dudley North)* they were troubled with no more Enigma's from the Treaſury.

A Feud at Court about a Revenue Farm.

While he ſerved in this Poſt, diverſe Emergents gave the King, *Charles* the Second, a good Opinion of his great Ability, as well as Integrity. One was a Feud at Court, ſtruck between the Lord *Halifax (Savile)* that was then Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord *Rocheſter*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. There was a Contract made with *Daſhwood*, and others, for a Farm of the Revenues of Exciſe and Hearth Money. The Contractors made a great Advance, and were to keep Books, which were to be for the King's Uſe; becauſe they had pretended to ſerve, by ſhewing, firſt, That they dealt fairly; and, ſecondly, How the Revenue might be improved. Pending this Farm, the Lord *Halifax* had been informed that my Lord *Rocheſter* was impoſed upon, and that the Farmers had an immenſe Profit, and his Majeſty as great a Loſs. And this he declared to the King; and that the Farmers ought to be exchequered; and their Farm, as a Deceit of the King, laid aſide; and they, as Managers, to become Accountants, and, having Allowance for their Pains and Charges, the Surplus to be anſwered to the King. The Lord *Rocheſter* fired at this; for, however the Matter was worded, he took it as an Imputation of Corruption in him; the ſame as ſaying he had been bribed to give the Farmers a Pennyworth. And no Reſentments could be carried higher than, upon this Occaſion, his were. He would neither ſee, hear, nor endure any Thing, or Perſon, that was not clear on his Side.

The Farmers found to have falſified their Accounts.

The Farmers thought their Copyhold touched; and they affirmed ſtrong, that their Bargain was hard; the Lord *Rocheſter* had overreached them; and that they had their Books to demonſtrate all they ſaid to be true. But the Lord *Halifax* was as hot and touchy as the other Lord, and continually urged the King to cauſe an Examination to be had. And, at that time of day, his Majeſty could not, as formerly, afford to be cheated by Wholeſale. At length, the Farmers were ordered to lay their Books before Auditor *Aldworth*, who was commanded to inſpect them, and give an Account of the Profit and Loſs of the Farm. He anſwered nothing but Doubts, and was very ſhy of ſaying any thing at all. Then the King commanded the Books to be carried to Sir *Dudley North*, and that the Auditor ſhould attend him, and his Majeſty would hear what he ſaid. This was done; and Sir *Dudley North* obſerved that when he touched upon any thing that was obſcure, the Auditor hum'd and haw'd, as if he had loſt his Utterance. This made him ſuſpect ſome grand Diſguiſe in the Accounts; and, at laſt, he found clearly that a whole Column of Figures was falſified, and that, in carrying on the Books, that Column was a Blank, and left to be filled up, as there ſhould be Occaſion; and that the writing the Figures was plainly poſtnate,

and

and done ſince the Queſtion, to cover the Profit of the Farm. The King was told of this, and would not believe it, till Sir *Dudley North* himſelf came; and, having the Books before the King, by Tokens which could not be contradicted, ſhewed that it was ſo. Whereupon the King determined to diſſolve the Farm, and turn it into a Management; and Proceſs was to go on in the Exchequer for it. But, before any great Advance was made (for great Perſons and great Things move ſlow) the King died, which ended all that Affair.

The Lord *Rocheſter* reſents this Diſcovery.

I am not certain whether my Lord *Rocheſter* was then in the Commiſſion of the Treaſury, or not; but rather think that *Sidney* (ſince Lord) *Godolphin* was then firſt Commiſſioner, and the Lord *Rocheſter* Secretary. But that Matter is not in my Deſign; nor is it to the Purpoſe, to any Matter here related, to recollect. It was not believed that, in granting this Farm, he was corrupt; but that he was impoſed upon by the ſubtile Farmers, who caſt Miſts before his Eyes, and, by ſuch a fair Propoſal, as that of the Books was, while they craftily concealed this Piece of Art (by a blank Column) made him believe that they could not be ſo braſen as to prove themſelves, by their own Books, to have been falſe to him and the King, as was concluded when the immenſe Gains, they muſt have thereby, appeared. But, for all that, his Lordſhip flamed, nevertheleſs, as if he had been charged with all the Corruption and Treachery in the World; and never after heartily forgave the Lord Keeper *North*, who, he ſuppoſed, muſt ſay ſomewhat of this Diſcovery to the King, nor Sir *Dudley North*; though, afterwards, in the next Reign, he held fair with, and ſerved himſelf of, them both, but without a Grain of real Friendſhip. It is the Nature of Courts to make Religion of Combinations; and, without Regard to Duty towards Superiors, the Words *for* and *againſt* only take place, and govern the Extremes of Rage or of Friendſhip, Ruin or Favour.

Of the interdicting Trade with the *Turks*.

There was an Incident which concerned the *Turky* Trade, or rather Trade in general, which conduced to give the King a good Opinion of Sir *Dudley North*; and that was his Conduct, in regard to the Scheme of interdicting Trade with the *Turks*: The Hiſtory of which, with the treacherous Deſign of thoſe that propoſed it, is fully ſet forth in the *Examen*; ſo I ſhall make ſhort of it here, and confine myſelf to the Part our Merchant acted therein. When his own Reaſoning, and that of diverſe other Merchants, againſt this mad Propoſition, was not regarded, and there was an Embaſſador upon the Point of going out, and Letters were to be wrote, it was not known but ſome mad thing, or other, might be done. To prevent all that at once, Sir *Dudley North* acquainted his Brother, the Privy Counſel-

lor, with this deſperate Deſign, and wiſhed him to take care, in time, to prevent it.

The Matter ſet right at Court, by Sir *D. North*'s Means.

My Lord Keeper *North* was ſenſible of more than was obvious, even to the Community of the Merchants themſelves; of whom many did not ſuſpect a factious Deſign. He went to the King, and, as from his Brother, unfolded this Machination againſt him; and the King brought it to the Council; whereupon the *Turky* Company were ſent for, and ordered to reſcind all they had done: And they went to their Court, and did accordingly; as is more fully related in the *Examen*. But of this Paſſage no Memorial, in our ordinary Notices, remains; for it was the Method of the Faction, when any of their Attempts miſcarried, to huſh them up, ſo that nothing of them may appear in Hiſtory.

His Anſwer in the *Turky* Court.

The Merchants, at this Court of theirs, ſpent a great many Words reflecting on falſe Brethren, that diſcovered the Orders of their Court that, till notified abroad by Order of the Company, ought to be private. Sir *Dudley North* knew they pointed at him, and ſtood up, and ſaid that *if any Man there, that owned himſelf an* Engliſhman, *and either would be paſſive and ſilent, while the Intereſts of his Country were going to wreck, or, being ſummoned to attend his Majeſty, not anſwer truly to what was demanded of him, he would reply, that Man was both a Fool and a Knave. Therefore, if any Shame came to them, they may thank their own bad Orders, and let thoſe alone who ſought to prevent the ruinous Effects of them.* This Bluſter ſhewed, that he was too big to be played upon amongſt them; and ſo all paſſed away in Oblivion. A third Incident, which ſtrangely reconciled him to the King's good Opinion, was his foretelling the late Deſcent of the *Turks* upon *Germany:* But, as the Particulars of it are already ſet down in the *Examen*, I ſhall make no mention of it here.

Placed in the Commiſſion of the Treaſury.

But theſe, and other Obſervations, which the King had made of Sir *Dudley North*'s Capacity for Buſineſs, inclined his Majeſty to call him up from the Cuſtoms to the Treaſury. So he was put into that Commiſſion, with a Salary of One thouſand ſix hundred Pounds a Year, with the Addition of what he eſteemed as much as the Encreaſe of Salary; which was the Enlargement of his Time; for now he had a great Share to himſelf: Whereas, in the Cuſtom-houſe, the Attendance was daily; and no School-boys ever made more Account of Holidays than they did: And, moreover, what with Projects, Eſtimates, Pennings, and other nice Employments, as Orders of the Treaſury, which came down to them to diſpatch, not to mention the many extraordinary Attendances, they could ſcarce call the Afternoons their own. And the Buſineſs itſelf did not lie ſo hard upon him as

at

at the Cuſtom-houſe; for the Chief in the Treaſury commonly takes all upon him; but here he was almoſt the only Workman in the Commiſſion; for *Butler* could talk enough, but had no Pen; and the reſt, for the moſt part, were, as the wonderful Way is, Knights and Squires put in for Favour.

The Navy an immenſe Expenſe to the Revenue.

Sir *Dudley North* had not been long enough in Commiſſion to be ſignaliſed for any thing, that could fall to his Share to act in the Treaſury, before the fatal Demiſe of his Majeſty. He had an Opportunity to ſhew his Knowledge in the Marine, by informing the Board touching the Abuſes in the Management of the Royal Navy, and the multitudinous Fraud that corroded there. It was uſual for the Commiſſioners of the Navy to come to the Treaſury Board, and demand Supplies of Money to be impreſſed for the Uſe of the Navy. While Sir *Dudley North* was at the Board, the Navy-Men came on their uſual Errand, and the Lords thought fit to demand of them, how that Money had been applied, which was impreſſed the laſt Month. The Commiſſioners of the Navy anſwered, that they were accountable to the Admiralty, and not to their Lordſhips; and all, that they had to do at that Board, was to inform when Money was wanted, which their Lordſhips might ſupply, or not, as they thought beſt for the Service of his Majeſty and the Nation. But, if the Navy was not ſupplied, whereby the Service failed, it muſt lie at their Lordſhips, and not at their Doors: And, in this Way, they perſiſted. The Lords were very angry with them; for, in ſtrictneſs, grant them accountable to the Admiralty, yet they might be ſo civil as to let the Treaſury know how the Impreſts had been applied; whereby their Lordſhips might be, in ſome meaſure, ſatisfied that their Demands were not exorbitant; and they were told plainly they muſt ſoon expect Orders from his Majeſty, who ſhould be informed of their Behaviour, and that it ſhould be no more in their Power to diſpute the Demands of the Treaſury. I have heard Sir *Dudley North* ſay that, if ſome potent Check were not had over that Managery, it would ſoon degenerate into an inſupportable Pack of confederate Knaves: And that, at preſent, it had no Bottom, nor was it eaſy to have any Account of their Conduct; for they ſtuck together as Men in a Veſſel, that were to ſink or ſwim all at once. And, if Money were blindly ſupplied, as faſt as they would call for it, the Revenue of the Nation would be too little to anſwer them; and yet no more Buſineſs ſhould be done than they ſhould think fit. And he verily believed that, if any Man had an Aſcendant, and Power to correct them, if otherwiſe they could not get rid of him, they would knock his Brains out.

This,

Good Deſigns diſappointed by the King's Death.

This, and diverſe other good Works, in the Way of reforming the Methods of diſpenſing the King's Revenue, had been done, if his Majeſty's Demiſe had not prevented. It was not long before that diſmal Loſs, that the King came into the Treaſury Chamber, to ſettle Maintenances for his Children, whom, as he told his Commiſſioners, my Lord *Shaftſbury* had declared he expected to ſee running about the Streets like Link-Boys. And he, having a Mind to finiſh his new Houſe at *Wincheſter* in a ſhort Time, thinking that Air to be better for his Health than *Windſor* was, cauſed Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, the Surveyor General of his Buildings, to attend, and preſſed him to ſay how ſoon it might be done. He anſwered in two Years. The King urged him to ſay if it might not poſſibly be done in one Year. *Yes*, ſaid the Surveyor General, *but not ſo well, nor without great Confuſion, Charge, and Inconvenience*; and however diligent they were, he feared Diſappointments would happen. *Well*, ſaid the King, *if it be poſſible to be done in one Year, I will have it ſo; for a Year is a great deal in my Life.* By ſuch Paſſages as theſe, one would think Men had Preſages of their latter End; at leaſt by this, that his Majeſty had; for he lived not many Weeks after. And what elſe ſhould make him ſo ſolicitous for Time and Poſterity?

King *James* II. proclaimed.

Then came the fatal Criſis of the King's Death; of which, and of the inexpreſſible Sorrow, that appeared in all Mens Countenances, throughout the whole City which was as a Family that had loſt a common Parent, I ſhall ſay nothing here, having already related the Particulars of it in the *Examen.* After it was too ſure, the great Officers under the Crown aſſembled, and took Order for the Requiſites. Of which the firſt was to proclaim the Succeſſor (before Duke of *York*, now) King of *England*, by the Name of *James* the Second. Sir *Dudley North* and myſelf, on that Occaſion, having nothing to do as Actors, went about, from one Place to another, as Spectators. When all Things were ready for the Proclamation, at *Whitehall Gate*, we went up the Banqueting Houſe Stairs, and got out upon the Leads, and there, lying along upon the Coping of the Baluſters, we heard the Proclamation read, and were the firſt that waved our Hats, and reared the Cry. But whether we were ſo much obſerved below, as we fancied, I know not.

Lord *Rocheſter* Lord Treaſurer; Sir *Dudley North* in the Cuſtoms again.

Then came out the Proclamation, that all Magiſtrates and Officers ſhould continue in their Places and Functions, as formerly they held, till other Proviſion were made. Conſequently Sir *Dudley North*, being a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, met with the reſt for Form. But they paſſed their Time in eaſy Diſcourſe, and did no Buſineſs; for it was little leſs than declared that the Treaſury white Staff would

would be, as accordingly it ſoon was, put into the Hands of the Lord *Rocheſter*. Thereupon Sir *Dudley North* was dropt, and, with the Diſſolution of that Commiſſion, fell from all public Employment. But as it was not in his Nature to be idle, or to live without Deſign, ſo now, being Maſter of his Time, he fell in amain upon the *Turky* Trade; for which his Houſe had exquiſite Accommodations. He bought up a great deal of Cloth, and had Rollers, and other Conveniences for viewing it, put up; and very buſy he was. But the Court wanted ſuch an Officer, and ſoon put him by his Trading; for my Lord *Rocheſter*, then Treaſurer, ſent for him, and told him he muſt go into the Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms. He took Time to adviſe, and deliberated with himſelf and his Friends, whether, having been laſt in the Treaſury, he ſhould now go leſs. But, upon mature Conſideration, and Conference with his Friends, he determined not to refuſe. He reputed that Scruple a ceremonious Vanity; that, in the Cuſtomhouſe, he was at home, and the Buſineſs familiar, and ſo far eaſy; and thereupon he undertook that Commiſſion once more. This Inſtance, and that of his Brother, the Lord Keeper *North*, have given me Occaſion to reflect upon the different Caſes of Men in Preferments, and how much better it is to riſe upon Account of Merit than by meer Favour; for it gives a Man full Power to be juſt and upright. Want of Merit muſt be ſupplied by Flattery, Compoſitions, or Proſtitution. When Men are choſen, not for Good to themſelves but, for the Good of thoſe that chooſe them, they have a very good Intereſt, as it is called, and not eaſily ſhaken.

Choſe into the Parliament for *Banbury*, and managed the Revenue Matters there.

Sir *Dudley North* being again ſettled in the Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms, and a Parliament being called by his then Majeſty King *James* the Second, it was thought fit he ſhould be choſen to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. And however, as a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, he might have been choſen at ſome one of the out Ports, yet, to make Room for another of the King's Friends, he choſe to ſerve for the Corporation of *Banbury* where, on Account of the young Lord *Guilford*'s Truſt, he had a ſure Intereſt. And I have to obſerve of his Behaviour, the very firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, what is more than one would expect. For although he was bred in Buſineſs abroad, and had little Experience in the Affairs of *England*, and in Parliament none at all, yet he took the Place of Manager for the Crown, in all Matters of Revenue ſtirring in the Houſe of Commons; and what he undertook, he carried through, againſt all Oppoſition, with as much Aſſurance and Dexterity as if he had been an old battered Parliament Man. That a Supply, or Aid, be given to the Crown by the Commons, at the Entrance of a Reign, is commonly expected. So far was agreed on by moſt; but it was not thought

thought fit to overdo in giving an Encreaſe of Revenue, for fear ill Uſe might be made of it for *Popiſh* Deſigns; which Jealouſy created abundance of Difficulties. There were not a few that were againſt all Supply till Satisfaction about the diſpenſing Power, and better Security was given for the due Execution of the Teſt and penal Laws. So that all Supply whatever went much againſt the Grain; and all Obſtructions, that could be thought of, were injected to hinder it.

Propoſes the Duties on Sugar and Tobacco.

On the other Side, the Court made no extravagant Demand, and ſeemed deſirous that what was given, might be as light and eaſy to the People as was poſſible. Diverſe Propoſals were made, ſome for a Land Tax, on Purpoſe that the Duty might be unpopular; ſome for a Tax upon new Buildings; and others had their Projects, which they had little Reaſon for, but only in Reſerve that they were like to come to nothing. Sir *Dudley North* took a ſtrict Account, of all the Commodities in Trade, from the Cuſtomhouſe Books, and conſidered which would beſt bear a farther Impoſition: For if Commodities are overrated, it amounts to a Prohibition. At laſt, he thought fit to propoſe a Tax of one farthing upon Sugars, and one halfpenny upon Tobacco imported, to lie upon the *Engliſh* Conſumption only, and not upon the Export; and this, as he eſtimated, would yield the Sum expected; and would ſcarce be any Burthen ſenſible to the People. In ſhort; this Tax was approved, and voted at the Committee, and a Bill directed, which was drawn up, and brought in.

The great Oppoſition that Tax met with.

It came not thus far without much Oppoſition and Contention; and Sir *Dudley North* was forced to ſtand the Attacks of a numerous, and valuable Party in the Houſe; ſome ſuſpecting his Integrity, and others his Underſtanding; but he ſtemmed them all. After the Bill was brought in and read, and Copies went abroad, whereby the Invention was known, there was a general Muſter of Noiſes, and Clamour, from all Parts of the Town, not only of Merchants Importers but, of Conſumptioners, Retailers, *&c.* raiſed up againſt it, as if the utter Ruin of all the Plantations was to follow; and all Trading from thence, and all Dealing whatever in thoſe Commodities, were all to be confounded at one ſingle Stroke. One, that lived in that, and in this Age, muſt wonder that, in Matter of Taxing, the one ſhould ſtrain at a Gnat, and the other ſwallow Camels. The Pretence of the Tradeſmen was that, in the End, it would be found to fall upon the Plantation Trade, and to tax the Export, as well as the home Conſumption. For although it was pretended that all Goods exported, being unaltered, ſhould take back the Cuſtom of ſo much, the Practice would be ſo puzzling, and troubleſome, at the Cuſtomhouſe, that Men would rather quit, than loſe their Time about it:

it: And then, a Riſe of the Commodity at home would leſſen the Trade, ſo as it would not be worth their while do deal in it; whereby the Plantations muſt ſink. And a Parcel of Grocers, Sugar Bakers, and Tobacconiſts alſo came to my Lord Treaſurer, and declared to him poſitively that, if that Bill paſſed, they would trade in thoſe Goods no longer. This ſtartled his Lordſhip; and he ordered them to attend the next Day, intending that Sir *Dudley North* ſhould be preſent; and he was ſent to accordingly.

The Tradeſmen confounded.

At the Time, there came a great Muſter of the Tradeſmen; and diverſe of them talked one after another, and all concluded it to be their common Reſolution, if that Bill paſſed, to trade in Sugars and Tobacco no more. Sir *Dudley North* ſtared at them, and admired their Impudence in lying ſo braſenly. At laſt, my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, *Sir* Dudley North, *what ſay you to this? My Lord*, ſaid he, *I deſire only to aſk them a Queſtion.* Then, turning to the Chief of them, *Sir*, ſaid he, *if one comes to your Shop to buy Sugar, will you ſell any?* The Grocers, on a ſudden, anſwered *yes. Then*, ſaid Sir *Dudley North, if you will ſell, I'm ſure you'll buy*; and fell a laughing. Then again he aſked them, whether, if they could get Money by Trading, they would not trade? To which they could not tell what to ſay. Theſe Stabs made them look woodenly upon one another; and the Ferment ſeemed to be laid. They did not expect the Queſtions, and could not on the ſudden qualify their Anſwers, and ſo were caught. My Lord Treaſurer was ſatisfied they were a Parcel of Party Knaves that came to hinder the King's Buſineſs; ſo the Bill, which had like to have been given up, was determined to go on.

The Bill, with much ado, paſſed.

In the paſſing this Bill, the Work lay wholley upon Sir *Dudley North*, to ſatisfy the Houſe, as he did, by unfolding the Nature of the Tax, declaring his Eſtimates, and making the conſequent Practice, at the Cuſtomhouſe, underſtood. And at the Committee, when the Bill was gone over, Paragraph by Paragraph, he ſat by the Table, with the Draught and a Pen in his Hand, dictating Amendments in numerous Inſtances; and diverſe of the old Members were diverted by ſeeing a freſh Man, and half Foreigner, act his Part in Parliament ſo well. And his Schemes being well judged, and built upon Truths well known to him, he maintaining his Character, as to Candor and Sincerity, to a Scruple, he had Confidence, and ſtood Buff againſt all the Reflections made at him; and, at Times, refelled them: And, as he paſſed to and fro, he was ſpoke to, and heard others ſpeaking, in a clamorous Way, as if they were not ſatisfied of his Allegations. This made him in public, as well as private, Diſcourſe, make his Defiance againſt any that ſhould ſhew,

thought fit to overdo in giving an Encreaſe of Revenue, for fear ill Uſe might be made of it for *Popiſh* Deſigns; which Jealouſy created abundance of Difficulties. There were not a few that were againſt all Supply till Satisfaction about the diſpenſing Power, and better Security was given for the due Execution of the Teſt and penal Laws. So that all Supply whatever went much againſt the Grain; and all Obſtructions, that could be thought of, were injected to hinder it.

Propoſes the Duties on Sugar and Tobacco.

On the other Side, the Court made no extravagant Demand, and ſeemed deſirous that what was given, might be as light and eaſy to the People as was poſſible. Diverſe Propoſals were made, ſome for a Land Tax, on Purpoſe that the Duty might be unpopular; ſome for a Tax upon new Buildings; and others had their Projects, which they had little Reaſon for, but only in Reſerve that they were like to come to nothing. Sir *Dudley North* took a ſtrict Account, of all the Commodities in Trade, from the Cuſtomhouſe Books, and conſidered which would beſt bear a farther Impoſition: For if Commodities are overrated, it amounts to a Prohibition. At laſt, he thought fit to propoſe a Tax of one farthing upon Sugars, and one halfpenny upon Tobacco imported, to lie upon the *Engliſh* Conſumption only, and not upon the Export; and this, as he eſtimated, would yield the Sum expected; and would ſcarce be any Burthen ſenſible to the People. In ſhort; this Tax was approved, and voted at the Committee, and a Bill directed, which was drawn up, and brought in.

The great Oppoſition that Tax met with.

It came not thus far without much Oppoſition and Contention; and Sir *Dudley North* was forced to ſtand the Attacks of a numerous, and valuable Party in the Houſe; ſome ſuſpecting his Integrity, and others his Underſtanding; but he ſtemmed them all. After the Bill was brought in and read, and Copies went abroad, whereby the Invention was known, there was a general Muſter of Noiſes, and Clamour, from all Parts of the Town, not only of Merchants Importers but, of Conſumptioners, Retailers, *&c.* raiſed up againſt it, as if the utter Ruin of all the Plantations was to follow; and all Trading from thence, and all Dealing whatever in thoſe Commodities, were all to be confounded at one ſingle Stroke. One, that lived in that, and in this Age, muſt wonder that, in Matter of Taxing, the one ſhould ſtrain at a Gnat, and the other ſwallow Camels. The Pretence of the Tradeſmen was that, in the End, it would be found to fall upon the Plantation Trade, and to tax the Export, as well as the home Conſumption. For although it was pretended that all Goods exported, being unaltered, ſhould take back the Cuſtom of ſo much, the Practice would be ſo puzzling, and troubleſome, at the Cuſtomhouſe, that Men would rather quit, than loſe their Time about it:

it: And then, a Riſe of the Commodity at home would leſſen the Trade, ſo as it would not be worth their while do deal in it; whereby the Plantations muſt ſink. And a Parcel of Grocers, Sugar Bakers, and Tobacconiſts alſo came to my Lord Treaſurer, and declared to him poſitively that, if that Bill paſſed, they would trade in thoſe Goods no longer. This ſtartled his Lordſhip; and he ordered them to attend the next Day, intending that Sir *Dudley North* ſhould be preſent; and he was ſent to accordingly.

The Tradeſmen confounded.

At the Time, there came a great Muſter of the Tradeſmen; and diverſe of them talked one after another, and all concluded it to be their common Reſolution, if that Bill paſſed, to trade in Sugars and Tobacco no more. Sir *Dudley North* ſtared at them, and admired their Impudence in lying ſo braſenly. At laſt, my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, *Sir* Dudley North, *what ſay you to this? My Lord*, ſaid he, *I deſire only to aſk them a Queſtion.* Then, turning to the Chief of them, *Sir*, ſaid he, *if one comes to your Shop to buy Sugar, will you ſell any?* The Grocers, on a ſudden, anſwered *yes. Then*, ſaid Sir *Dudley North, if you will ſell, I'm ſure you'll buy*; and fell a laughing. Then again he aſked them, whether, if they could get Money by Trading, they would not trade? To which they could not tell what to ſay. Theſe Stabs made them look woodenly upon one another; and the Ferment ſeemed to be laid. They did not expect the Queſtions, and could not on the ſudden qualify their Anſwers, and ſo were caught. My Lord Treaſurer was ſatisfied they were a Parcel of Party Knaves that came to hinder the King's Buſineſs; ſo the Bill, which had like to have been given up, was determined to go on.

The Bill, with much ado, paſſed.

In the paſſing this Bill, the Work lay wholley upon Sir *Dudley North*, to ſatisfy the Houſe, as he did, by unfolding the Nature of the Tax, declaring his Eſtimates, and making the conſequent Practice, at the Cuſtomhouſe, underſtood. And at the Committee, when the Bill was gone over, Paragraph by Paragraph, he ſat by the Table, with the Draught and a Pen in his Hand, dictating Amendments in numerous Inſtances; and diverſe of the old Members were diverted by ſeeing a freſh Man, and half Foreigner, act his Part in Parliament ſo well. And his Schemes being well judged, and built upon Truths well known to him, he maintaining his Character, as to Candor and Sincerity, to a Scruple, he had Confidence, and ſtood Buff againſt all the Reflections made at him; and, at Times, refelled them: And, as he paſſed to and fro, he was ſpoke to, and heard others ſpeaking, in a clamorous Way, as if they were not ſatisfied of his Allegations. This made him in public, as well as private, Diſcourſe, make his Defiance againſt any that ſhould ſhew,

by the Cuſtomhouſe Books, which any one might inſpect, or otherwiſe, that he had prevaricated in any Punctilio, or miſrepreſented any Facts to the Houſe. So, through much Contention and Oppoſition, the Bill paſſed.

Adviſes the Method of Account, which, after Trial, was uſed.

Having mentioned the Difficulties that were pretended neceſſarily to have fallen out, in the Execution of this Act, by a Drawback upon the Export, I ſhall here remember what happened as to that. The Commiſſioners met to conſult in what Method they ſhould diſpoſe their Accounts, ſo as to have them ready at all Times, in order to adjuſt the Sums to be paid at ſhipping off any of thoſe Goods. The Comptroller of the Accounts was at a Loſs. But Mr. *Dickenſon*, at that Time, a Commiſſioner, and thought to underſtand the Practice of the Cuſtomhouſe, as well as any that belonged to it, propoſed a ſort of Poſt Book to be kept, in which the Merchants ſhould have their Accounts; and all the Duty, of Goods imported, ſhould ſtand in their Debt (for the Act gave Time for Payment) and the Duty, of Goods exported, to their Credit; ſo it would be readily known what the Merchant owed, or was due to him. But Sir *Dudley North* was utterly againſt this Method; becauſe for Want of Order of Time in entering, and Leiſure in poſting, Errors would ſlip ſo faſt that they would ſoon be in utter Confuſion. Whereupon he propoſed to keep the Account by Way of Dr. and Cr. entering every Parcel in the Day; and then, having nothing elſe in their Heads, poſt the Items to their proper Accounts; and ſo they would not be in any Hurry, but alſo have a Ballance to check the whole. But the Commiſſioners generally liked Mr. *Dickenſon*'s Way beſt; and ſo it went. But, after ſome Time paſſed, the Commiſſioners calling for the Drawback Books, the Clerks brought a fair Journal and Leidger, as Sir *Dudley North* had propoſed; and, being aſked why they made that Alteration, they anſwered that Experience ſhewed them the other Way would not do. For they had no Check, nor Government of the Account; and writing poſtwiſe at the ſame Time as the Diſpatch was made, in the very firſt Week they were ſo confounded with Miſtakes, that they were forced to write all over again, and go on in this Method. So apt are ſome Works to do themſelves; for the Practice ſoon demonſtrates the eaſier Methods, and directs how to retrench Pains and eſtabliſh Compendiums. And, in this Matter, Sir *Dudley North* ſhewed a Temper in not making an Oppoſition, and troubling the Treaſury about their Methods of Account, becauſe he thought his own Way better than theirs; but let them make the Experiment, verily thinking they muſt come to his Way at laſt.

There

There was a Law paſſed, or rather was continued, this Parliament, called the *Coinage*. This was a certain Tax laid to pay for coining Money; whereby any Man, who brought into the Mint Bullion, took out coined Money, reduced to Sterling, Weight for Weight. Sir *Dudley North* was infinitely ſcandaliſed at the Folly of this Law, which made Bullion and coined Money par; ſo that any Man might gain by melting; as when the Price of Bullion riſeth, a Crown ſhall melt into five Shillings and ſix Pence; but, on the other Side, nothing could ever be loſt by Coining; for, upon a Glut of Bullion, he might get that Way too, and, upon a Scarcity, melt again; and no Kind of Advantage, by Encreaſe of Money, as was pretended, like to come out. The Lord Treaſurer gave ſome of the Banker Goldſmiths, and Sir *Dudley North*, a Meeting. *Charles Duncomb*, a great Advancer, had whiſpered ſomewhat in his Lordſhip's Ear, that made him inclinable to the Bill. Sir *Dudley North* reaſoned with them againſt it beyond Reply; and then the Argument was — *Let there be Money my Lord*, by G—d *let there be Money*. The Reaſons, why this Scheme prevailed, were, firſt, that the Crown got by the Coinage Duty; next, that the Goldſmiths, who gained by the melting Trade, were Advancers to the Treaſury, and Favourites. The Country Gentlemen are commonly full of one profound Miſtake; which is that, if a great deal of Money be made, they muſt, of Courſe, have a Share of it; ſuch being the ſuppoſed Conſequence of what they call plenty of Money. So little do Aſſemblies of Men follow the Truth of Things in their Deliberations; but ſhallow, unthought, Prejudices carry them away by Shoals. In ſhort, the Bill paſſed; and the Effects of it have been enough ſeen and felt; however the Evil hath been ſince, in ſome Sort, but not wholley, remedied.

Utterly againſt the Coinage Bill.

Another Thing, which gave him great Offence, was the Currency of clipt Money. He looked upon coined Money, as Merchandiſe, only (for better Proof and Convenience) uſed as a Scale, having it's ſuppoſed Weight ſigned upon it, to weigh all other Things by; or, as a Denomination apt for Accounts. But, if the Weight of it differed from it's Stamp, it was, not a Scale but, a Cheat, like a Piece of Goods with a Content ſtampt, and diverſe Yards cut off. And as to the Fancy that common Currency might reconcile the Matter, he thought that, when a Man takes a Thing called a Shilling, putting it off, it is alſo called a Shilling nominally true; but, as to the Deficiency, it is no other than a Token, or Leather Money, of no Intrinſic, by what Name ſoever it be called; and that all Markets will be regulated accordingly; for, as Money is debaſed, Prices riſe, and ſo it all comes to a Reckoning. This was ſeen by Guinies, which, in the Currency of clipt Money, roſe to be worth thirty

Scandaliſed at clipt Money, and the Reaſon.

(clipt) Shillings. Sir *Dudley North* was reſolved that, if ever he ſat in another Seſſions of Parliament, he would bid Battle to this public Illuſion. And, being full of the Subject, he eaſed his Mind by laying down his Reaſons upon Paper; and the Fancy took him to do it in the Form of a Speech in the Houſe of Commons; though, if he had had twenty Speeches beforehand, he could not have rehearſed one of them as they were penned, but muſt, as his Uſe was, fall directly upon the Point, *ex Re Nata*, and as the Reaſon of Things, and the Quality of the Debate prompted. He could improve his Notions by Thinking; but he could not confine himſelf to any premeditated Compoſure.

Intended to puſh theſe Regulations, and publiſhed a Pamphlet of them.

He knew indeed that he ſtood alone; and, except ſome, and not many, of his Fellow Merchants, ſcarce any Perſon appeared to join with him. Corruption, Self-intereſt, and Authority, he knew were Winds that would blow in his Face; but yet he believed his Reaſons were no leſs impetuous, and that he ſhould be able to impreſs them; and that, being once underſtood, the Buſineſs would make it's own Way. But the Parliament, in which he ſerved, was diſſolved; and he came no more within that Pale. But afterwards, finding that the Grievance of clipt Money became inſupportable, and with Deſign that, ſince he could not, ſome other Perſons might puſh for a Regulation, as well of this as of ſome other Grievances relating to Trade in general, and to incite them to it, he put his Senſe in the Form of a Pamphlet and, ſitting the Convention (or ſome Time after it was turned into a Parliament) in 1691, publiſhed it, printed for *J. Baſſet*, and 'titled *Diſcourſes upon Trade, principally directed to the Caſes of Intereſt, Coinage, Clipping, and Encreaſe of Money.*

The Money reformed the worſt Way.

This came out long before the Attempt in Parliament to have all the Money new coined; for which an Act paſſed, ſince put in Execution. But of the two Ways, expoſed by Sir *Dudley North*, the Fabricators of that Bill choſe the worſt; for they threw the Loſs of the clipt Money upon the Public by a Tax, and gave ſix Months Time for Folks to bring in what was clipt. This ſix Months Time, as he propheſied, was doubtleſs well employed, but not for the making the old Money wider. If there was one before, there were ten after, that clipped heartily; knowing that, however they clipped the Coin, they ſhould have whole Money at the Mints for it.

The better Way had done the ſame Thing with more Honour.

I well remember what a Fame attended the Accompliſhment of this Work (ill done as it was) and as done, without more, deſervedly; for better and worſe, in the Means, is not to be reflected on, when a great Good is obtained in the End. And, not to derogate any Honour from the Authors, what is true may be remembered, which is that Money went to foreign Markets, and would not (as at home)

home) pass by a Stamp, or Denomination, but must be weighty; and, whatever Good, to the People, was intended, yet the foreign Occasion made it necessary. And as for the Undertaking, there were no Mountains to be got over, as, at other Times, had been, when nothing would have made the People start and boggle, like touching their Money; for, here, those, that were to receive, demanded, and had Power to sustain it. For this Reason, the Honour had been much greater, if it had been carried by Strength of Reason, upon new Discoveries, against the strongest of Prejudices, and Interest mistaken, as Sir *Dudley North* intended to have done. And whether any Use of his Pamphlet was made, or not (as I guess there was, because one of the Ways, he proposed, was taken, and diverse Mints planted about, as he intended to have insinuated) it is certain the Pamphlet is, and hath been ever since, utterly sunk, and a Copy not to be had for Money. And if it was designedly done, it was very prudent; for the Proceeding is so much reflected on there for the worse, and a better shewed, though not so favourable to Abuses, as doth not consist with that Honour and Eclat, as hath been held forth upon the Occasion.

Scandalised at the Laws for the Poor.

Sir *Dudley North* was much scandalised at the Laws made in *England* for the Poor, under which Monies were collected, all over *England*, by Parish Rates, for their Maintenance; and he had also form'd a Design for the disclosing his Mind in the House of Commons, concerning that Constitution, by * collecting Materials in Writing (as he had done before, but more formally, touching clipt Money) which he should have used in a Debate, if the House had fallen upon any Thing relating to it. But the Dissolution came in the Way and spoiled all. And Discourses upon such Subjects used to be frequent in the Conversation between these Brothers, where the general Good of *England* was as seriously and sincerely deliberated, as in the Parliament House itself. Whatever may be thought, I am sure I do not hyperbolise in this; since it was in my good Stars to be an Eye and Ear Witness of what I affirm.

Loss of Lord Keeper *North*; Sir *Dudley* undertakes the Trust.

But now we must come to the greatest Blow that could have befell Sir *Dudley North*; and that was the Sickness and Death of his best Brother the Lord Keeper. A full Account of which is to be found in that noble Person's Life. His Lordship had made his three Brothers Executors and Guardians. Sir *Dudley North* took upon him to act with all the Vigour and Diligence of a faithful and good Trustee. In the first Place he gave Orders for the Funeral, and

* The Substance of these Papers, together with some farther Considerations relating to the Laws for the Poor, and the Consequences of them, are set down in the Form of a Pamphlet by the honourable Author of this Work, and may see the Light if Opportunity should offer.

then

then took Coach, and went with the great Seal (the Officers all attending) to *Windſor*, and there put it into the King's Hands, who, not long after, delivered it to the Lord *Jeffries*. Then he returned to *Wroxton*, diſpatched the Funeral, put the Family in a Method, and returned to *London*. The Children, that fell under his Care, were the Lord *Guilford* who was at *Wincheſter* School, where he was continued; the two Youngers were alſo well placed, and ſo continued during Sir *Dudley*'s *Life*.

Fell cloſe to the Buſineſs of his Truſts, to which he dedicated a Room.

But, beſides this Guardianſhip, upon the Death of the Lord Keeper *North*, there devolved upon him an immenſe Charge by the Executorſhip and Truſt of the three Children's Fortunes. The younger Brother, *Charles*, had but two thouſand Pounds given him; the Siſter had four thouſand Pounds. But, to have done with theſe; at the full Ages, the Guardians put into the Hands of the one four thouſand Pounds, and of the other ſix thouſand Pounds, beſides all the Charges of their Education; which was not a common Guardian's Account. As for the Capital of the Lord *Guilford*'s Eſtate, it conſiſted of the Eſtates which had belonged to the Family of the *Popes*, ſome that his Lordſhip had purchaſed in *Eſſex*, and, in Money, about thirty two thouſand Pounds to be laid out in Land. Sir *Dudley North*, in the firſt Place, ſet the Houſe in Order, making Inventories, diſpoſing and regiſtering, ſo as, afterwards, a ready Recourſe might be had to any Thing that was left. He adjuſted the Steward's Accounts, and left his Orders. He diſpatched the Furniture of the great Houſe in *London*, which the Succeſſor, the Lord *Jeffries*, did not think fit to take; and ſome he ſent down, and ſold ſome, and ſome, with the Writings, *&c.* he transferred to his own Houſe; and there he dedicated a Room peculiarly to this Truſt, and ſuffered no other Affairs to come into it. And he gave a good Reaſon for ſo doing; for if a Man has ſeveral Manageries upon his Hands, and the Books and Papers of them lie together, Confuſion is apt to grow, not only among them but, in his Head, which will not readily run from the one to the other. But if they lie in ſeveral Rooms, the former is avoided; and, upon the very Entrance into the Room, the Walls, and meer Form of Things lying about, bring the Buſineſs into one's Mind, and make an artificial Train of Thinking: And whoever deals in great Matters, will find the Benefit of this Oeconomy.

Account mercantilely kept and rendered.

He procured a Set of Books, ſuch as Merchants uſe, and, in them he kept the Account of this Truſt, in a mercantile Way, completely. He had his Waſte, Journal and Leidger; and into theſe Books came the Sums from the Stewards Account; Intereſt Money, and all the Outgoings were entered, and proper Accounts, in them, were framed, to keep the ſeveral Intereſts diſtinct; ſo that, at all Times, the Books were

were an Account renderable of every Branch, and every Perſon's Intereſt that could be required. At the young Lord's full Age, the Books themſelves, in which ſtood every Farthing accountable in proper Place, were exhibited for a Render of his Accounts. But this Form not being ſo obvious as the Exchequer Way, all Charge together, and all Diſcharge together, the young Lord deſired of the ſurviving Guardians, that he might have ſuch an Account made in that Manner. He was told that it was meer Pains and Writing; and a Man of Arts in Accounts muſt be employed to do it, and be paid for it. He thereupon ſet his Auditor to work, who, upon View of the Books, ſhewed him his Credits, his Debts, in all his Concerns, and told him he might be ſatisfied, for nothing better could be done. This Method I preſume hath not been uſual with Executors and Guardians, ſince (as the Poet hath it) *the Ghoſts of Teſtators left walking.*

Applied to purchaſing of Eſtates.

In the Conduct of this Truſt he had little Trouble; for he accounted his Pains none. Trouble is when there is Want of Peace and Quietneſs in the Pains taking: Elſe, the obtaining the good End ſought, anſwers all the Labour that tends directly to procure it. Sir *Dudley North* thought it beſt to buy Land with the Money as ſoon as he could. I remember he had a fierce Diſpute with his Teſtator, in his Life Time, upon that very Point. He adviſed his Lordſhip to lay out his Money in Land as faſt he could. *I will not buy Land*, ſaid the other, *unleſs I can find good Eſtates and Pennyworths.* Sir *Dudley* urged that he was in a great Miſtake; for if his Money was laid out in his Life Time, he would have the Aſſiſtance of all thoſe, and not a few, who deſired of all Things to ſerve and oblige him; and, what was much more, the Benefit of his own Knowledge and Skill, as well in the Law as in other Reſpects. And if Land muſt be bought, it would certainly be worſe done than if he did it himſelf; for all thoſe Advantages would be wanting to any Truſtees he could make. He was convinced of it; but Men in great Places, who are courted with Offers of Services, cannot but think they may compaſs ſuch Matters upon better Terms than other Men. For there being abroad many good Pennyworths, they conclude that, for Reſpect or Officiouſneſs, ſome will be brought to them. It is certain the Error was proved in his Caſe; for, though good Purchaſes were made, he, in his Life Time, would have made better. It was one of Sir *Dudley North*'s Maxims, which may be ordinary to hear obſerved among Merchants. *When a Thing is fit to be done, do it as well as the Time allows.* As, if it be reaſonable for a Merchant to ſell, or to buy, do it at the Current. Becauſe the Loſs and Inconvenience

venience, by not doing, is much greater than the Circumſtances of Price or Value, between one Time and another.

Of *non obſtante*'s and Regulations.

But now we muſt be ſerious, and mount towards the Court, and the Tranſactions thereabouts, which I ſhall touch upon ſo far as concerns my Subject. After the King had moſt unadviſedly and precipitouſly diſſolved his Parliament, and had promoted *Jeffries* to the great Seal; and the Lord Keeper *North*, a mortal Obſtacle, out of the Way; what ſhould hinder the great Seal from ſending forth Commiſſions, not only of War but, of Peace and Lieutenancy, with *non obſtante*'s in the Body of them, againſt the Teſt Laws? And ſo it was; Perſons unqualified came into all Commiſſions. And what general Diſcontents this made, if not remembered, may eaſily be conceived The next Work was to make fair Weather with a new Parliament; and, in order thereunto, to get Members choſen that would comply, and take thoſe troubleſome Teſts out of the Way. The *Engliſh* Side of this famous Managery (for what Foreigners were concerned, or how, I know not) was the famous Triumvirate; the Lord Chancellor *Jeffries*, the Lord *Sunderland* (who they ſay, as a poor Penitent, knocked at the Maſs Chapel Door, and was reconciled) and Sir *Nicholas Butler*. The Methods, theſe took, were partly local, and partly perſonal. The local Part was to be executed by regulating, or rather corrupting, Corporations, that had Right of Election, by putting, out and in, Mayors, Recorders, Burgeſſes, *&c.* and where they were ſtiff, by coming upon them with *quo Warranto*'s, and the Terror of Charges. Thoſe, that would ſurrender, and renew *ad Normam Curiæ*, had Peace. And, for this End, they had Runners up and down, who were called Regulators; and the Committee of the aforeſaid Counſellors, were called the Committee of Regulations. As to the Counties, thoſe were too big to be thus tampered with, and were left to the ſecond Scheme.

The Manner of Cloſetting, and Sir *Dudley North*'s Concern in it.

2. Perſons. I ſhall paſs by the Office, required of the Lord Lieutenants, to catechiſe the Gentry all over *England* touching their good Will to this Project, ſuppoſing all the Country Commiſſions would be regulated accordingly; and come directly to Court; where it was ordered that, in each Miniſtration, the Chief ſhould catechiſe the Underlings, to know who were willing to repeal, and who not, ſuppoſing that a general Reform would go accordingly. But it was not ſo; but done to the Intent that the Conſenters, by Engagements to his Majeſty in Perſon, might be rivetted, and ſo to be depended upon in Parliament. Upon this wiſe Scheme, my Lord Chancellor undertook the Province of the Law, and ſent for, not only the King's Servants but, every conſiderable Practiſer. My Lord *Godolphin*, as Head of the Treaſury, ſent for all the Revenue Men, and took their Anſwers.

Anſwers. Sir *Dudley North*, as a Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, came in upon this Liſt. When he came before his Lordſhip, and had heard the Queſtions, and a World of Diſcourſe, in a perſuaſive Way, he remembered an old *Turkiſh* Saying, *viz. That a Man is to ſay* no, *only to the Devil.* He anſwered, therefore, "That he was always a "faithful Subject and Servant to his Majeſty, and would do all he "could for his Majeſty's Service:" or to that Effect. This was taken for a violent Tendency, if not a Conceſſion. But, coming before the King, and being aſked if he would vote ſo and ſo, or not; he anſwered, poſitively and finally, "That he could not, and there-"fore would not, pretend to tell what he ſhould do upon any Que-"ſtion propoſed in Parliament, if he had the Honour to ſit there, "till he had heard the Debate." But this was cloathed in Terms of the greateſt Submiſſion that could be. He was aſked the ſame more than once. But, in Sum, his Anſwer was the ſame. "He was "told that this was trifling; for he could not pretend to be a Stran-"ger to a Matter which had been the Town Talk ſo long. He "might depend upon it that nothing new could be alledged in the "Houſe, which he had not heard before." To all which, urged upon him over and over again, he added nothing but that *if he were to die that Moment, he would make no other Anſwer.* The noble Lord, there, was ſtrangely ſurpriſed and confounded at this Perſeverance in a Denial, as was underſtood; for he had, as I gueſs, valued himſelf for ſecuring Sir *Dudley North.* The King ſhewed no Tokens of his Diſpleaſure; nor did he in any Caſe when the Perſons appeared reſpectful; and he thought them ſincere. But his Lordſhip reſented it ſufficiently; for he never was well with him, nor ever ſhewed him a fair Countenance after that.

Sir *Dudley North* threatened in *Holland.*

I muſt touch alſo the Circumſtances of the following Times*, becauſe my Subject is concerned in them; however, I ſhall be but ſhort. The Preparations, for the Embarkment in *Holland*, were very great; and after it was known to be for *England*, a great Buſtle was made to reſiſt it. Thoſe that had fled into *Holland* were rampant, and were ſo free as fully to declare their equitable Purpoſes. For they gave out that all the *Tory* Party, meaning thoſe who had acted by Law againſt the *Fanatics*, ſhould at once be attainted, and their Eſtates taken away by Parliament. Nor ſhould thoſe of the Dead be exempted any more than thoſe of the Living; and they were ſo kind as to name the late Lord Keeper *North*, and Sir *Dudley North* in particular. This was told to Sir *Dudley North*, as certain News out of *Holland*, by ſuch as meant him well; but he, as his Way was to ſlight extravagant Threats, minded it not. But it appeared to him, afterwards, that thoſe, who had fled into *Holland*, had re-

* See Appendix N°. II.

tained ſo much of their Rye Scheme, as really to intend, and it was not for Want of Will that they did not execute it. But after the King's Army was quite broke, and his Perſon far enough off, Things did not proceed with ſo much Contention as to make a Turn by Victory, but rather by Accommodation. And King *William*, having ſecured his own Game, would not roil it to gratify them.

Like from *Exeter*, and tempted to run away.

But now the Prince is landed, and come as far as *Exeter*; and from thence Sir *Dudley North* had Letters with Preambles of Friendſhip, and Concluſions with Advice to run away; and grounded on the terrible Denuntiations paſſed among the Men of Power there. Many Matters were alledged; but chiefly that of taking upon him the Office of Sheriff without Title; which cauſed ſo much Blood to be drawn. But he was ſo ſtupid as to laugh at this alſo. It is to be preſumed they uſed the ſame Courſe with others: For now there began to be great Scampering; and, of ſome, with Reaſon enough, who were obnoxious, and had more to anſwer for than could be excuſed; chiefly ſuch as had riſen into Poſts by Flattery upon the Points of the Teſts; as Baron *Jenner*, Biſhop *Cartwright*, chief Juſtice *Herbert*, and ſome others. The two Solicitors, *Graham* and *Burton*, were taken and brought back; and much ado there was about who went and who ſtaid. The Faction was thought to be cruel and fierce, and, coming into a Swing of uncontrouled Power, none could ſay what Miſchief they would not do. But they themſelves, knowing that there was nothing criminal to charge upon thoſe they had moſt Spleen againſt, endeavoured, by Menace and Frighting, to make them run away; and many, that did ſo, were taken, and felt the Smart of it; but, of thoſe that ſtaid, even the greateſt Malefactors had little or no Hurt. The former ſuffered, under a Preſumption of Guilt, by Impriſonment without Trial, or ſo much as being accuſed. So that, here, Flight and Condemnation were one and the ſame Thing. And there is not a ſingle Inſtance of any one Perſon tried for any of the horrid Crimes that brought on the Revolution.

Safe by his upright Carriage and Behaviour.

At this Time, Sir *Dudley North* and myſelf were ſeldom aſunder, but walked about from one Buſtle to another, to obſerve what was doing; and were in all public Places, to ſee how Matters wrought. For he, according to his true Character, ſo long as he could juſtify his Actions, feared nothing, and ſcarce thought he had any Concern in the Turn more than any other Man had. This was a foul Diſappointment to his Enemies; for they made a ſure Account that he, a Ringleader of the *Tory* Party, muſt needs run away, and then they had him faſt, in Priſon at leaſt. Once we walked together into the *Exchange*; and one, that ſtood in a Company, ſaid, *What? Is*

not

not he gone yet? We paſſed on, and took no notice. He was looked at almoſt as much as when he was named Sheriff; and the Wonder, that he was not gone, was as great as when he was to be Sheriff: And it was in his good Stars that he ſecured to himſelf a Safety, by ſtaring his Enemies in the Face.

Left out of the new Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms.

He was in the Cuſtoms at the Revolution, and continued ſo for ſome time after; for that Collection was not to be diſturbed till the Main was ſafe. But it was not long before the Men of Merit put in for Poſts, whether fit or not; and the Cuſtoms was a jolly Commiſſion, that would ſerve five or ſix of them; and if one or two old ones were left to teach the new ones their Trade, it was enough: And, after the Commiſſion was renewed, and moſt of the old ones, of whom he was one, were left out, Sir *John Werden*, that would often aſk for a Light to be ſtruck (as I touched before) became the ruling Commiſſioner.

Traded, ſuſtained great Loſſes, and thought of retiring.

After he was left out of the Commiſſion, he was reduced to his firſt Principles, a mere Merchant of the *Levant* Company in *London*; and his Poſt of Alderman alſo dropt from him: For, when the Judgment in the *Quo Warranto* was ſet aſide by the Parliament, the City was put in a State referring to a Time before he was choſen; which changed the whole Frame of the Court of Aldermen. Then, hating Idleneſs, he fell again to buying of Cloth. He had formerly joined with other Merchants in building three defenſible Ships; for Piracies, in the *Straits*, had made trading, in ſmall Veſſels, too hazardous; and the Employment of theſe Ships engaged him deeper in Adventure than otherwiſe he had been. But, after the Revolution, Things grew worſe and worſe; becauſe the Wars with the *French* gave them an Advantage over our *Turky* Trade; and, both at home and abroad, they met with us. One of his great Ships, with a conſiderable Adventure, homeward bound, and little inſured, was taken by the *French*: But yet he traded on; and, it appeared, his Eſtate was leſs, by ten thouſand Pounds, than it was when the *French* War firſt broke out. I believe he had leſs perſevered in Trade, at that time, if he had not had a Conſideration of his Houſe in *Conſtantinople*, where his Brother had a *Ragion*, and he had his Apprentice, *Fairclough*, to whom he thought himſelf in Juſtice bound to ſend out Buſineſs, eſpecially when others withdrew; elſe, they muſt have ſunk. But ſo many Corrections, as he received, one after another, abated his Metal; and his Family encreaſing, and Children coming forward, whom he conſidered beyond himſelf; and, what was worſt of all, he grew liable to Infirmities, eſpecially the Phthiſic, which made him not ſo active in his Perſon as he had been, and deſired to be. All which together made him think of getting an Eſtate, with a commodious

Seat, in the Country, and to employ himſelf, as he declared he would do, by plowing and ſowing amain. But, in this Particular, his good Fortunes failed him; for, although he had viewed diverſe great Eſtates, and offered great Prices, as twenty-four and twenty-five Years Purchaſe, he never was accepted; and, within a Day or two after he fell ſick, a Time was appointed for us to go down and agree for *Beſthorp* in *Norfolk*. If he had been ſo happy as to have accompliſhed a Purchaſe ſome Time before, I believe it had prolonged his Life.

Parliament enquire into the former Proceedings.

But I ſhall be accuſed for a Concealer, if I do not relate how the Houſes of Parliament dealt with him, and his Shrievalty, before he had his *Quietus* in that Affair. After the Convention, ſummoned by the Prince's Letters, thought fit to be a Parliament, and the Kingdom ſettled, and declared to be of him and his Conſort *Mary*, and all things thought to ſtand faſt and firm in the new Government; then the old Faction thought they had the Ball at their Toe, the Town was their own, and who ſhould contradict them? And now was the Time to lay open the bad Actions of the Tories, and, not only to bring them to condign Puniſhment but alſo, to make amends for former Injuries out of the Eſtates of the Dead and of the Living of them; and all to be done, not by any formal, faſtidious Courſe of Law or Trial, but, by Act of Parliament. And, accordingly, two Inquiſitions were ſet on foot; as is already related in the *Examen*. It is pretty apparent that, in the factious Scheme, both theſe aimed at Sir *Dudley North*, upon whoſe Character and Circumſtances the Matter had hinged; though Sir *John Moor*, and others, were thought fit to be taken in.

Examined before the Committee of Lords, and diſmiſſed.

I ſhall begin with the Lords, who, taking it for granted that thoſe Perſons were murthered, ordered this Enquiry how, and by what Means. This amounted to an Enquiry, whether they were murthered or not; and ſo, in the Proceeding, it proved. But, it is a common thing in Parliament to enquire after Perſons, when the Facts are but preſumed. This Committee ſat, and ſent for all Perſons that were any ways concerned in the Proceedings after the Rye Plot diſcovered, or were but ſuſpected to know any thing of them, and examined them, and whomſoever elſe they thought fit to ſend for, upon Oath. Amongſt the reſt Sir *Dudley North* was ſent for; of whoſe Examination I have little to ſay here, becauſe it is particularly related in the *Examen*: Only, to ſhew how much he was under the Diſpleaſure of ſome People, I will obſerve that, when Queſtions were asked, as diverſe were, skirting upon the Main, and he anſwered fully and clearly to them; while he was talking (on one Side of him) *That's a Lye*, ſaid one, and (on another Side) *That's falſe*, ſaid another; and ſuch Interruptions

ruptions he had that, if he had been over-modeſt, he muſt have been abaſhed. But, after this one Examination, he was diſmiſſed, and heard no more from that Committee.

Examined before the Houſe of Commons.

After the Houſe of Commons had done with Sir *John Moor*, they ſent for Sir *Dudley North*; and, I believe, ſome Sport was expected, for the Galleries were full, and ſo were all Corners about the Houſe. I had my Poſt in the Gallery, where I could ſee as well as hear: And the famous *Titus Oates* was not far off; for he was a Perſon that greatly intereſted himſelf in theſe Affairs. Mr. *Paul Foley* was in the Chair; and, when Sir *Dudley North* came in and ſtood upon the Floor, *Sir*, ſaid he, *for what Reaſon did you take upon you the Office of Sheriff, which did not belong to you?* He anſwered in like manner as before. But there was little to the Purpoſe in all this; for the Deſign, of all theſe Examinations, was to get Perſons named, that there might be ſome Hold of them for Purpoſes that lay behind.

Difference about Queſtions to be asked.

None durſt ask him touching his Brother the Lord Keeper *North*; for the Gentlemen, generally, would not have born it. But yet the Buſineſs hung upon Expectation to get ſomething out of him; and there were diverſe Mutterings, and Murmurings, about odd Queſtions to be asked; and ſome, near the Chair, were very buſy, whiſpering with the Chairman. Mr. *Francis Guin*, one that the Examinant knew to be of his Side, and that he might truſt him, moved that, ſince he had declared the Court of Aldermen unanimouſly required him to ſerve, as being legally choſen, he might be asked what Aldermen were preſent. The Chairman nodded for his Anſwer; and then Sir *Dudley North* turned him round and, with his Cane, pointed to the five Aldermen that had ſided with the Faction, and named them audibly one after another, who were all preſent, and made no Objection. This was not well; and Sir *W. Williams*, a cunning Parliament Man, fearing worſe, thought to get rid of their Cuſtomer with as good a Colour as might be contrived; and, taking Umbrage at ſome little Stir there was about asking Queſtions to make him accuſe his own ſelf (and Sir *Dudley North* himſelf had began to ſay, *He hoped that, being among Gentlemen, &c.)* ſtanding up, *Mr.* Foley, ſaid he, *you had beſt have a care, you have an honourable Gentleman before you, that you do not ask him, &c.* It ſeems he thought the going off upon that Scruple carried an *Innuendo* which might ſerve their Turn better than any thing they were like to get by Queſtions, ſince thoſe, already asked, had turned upon them. But thoſe, of his Party, did not underſtand his Reach, and, calling out for Queſtions, interrupted him; and that irritated his *Welſh* Blood, and made him

fall

fall foul on his own Party; and there was Noiſe and Altercation, for ſome Time, upon that Occaſion, amongſt them.

A Queſtion asked, and loudly anſwered, made an End.

But, there being ſome Ceſſation, Mr. *Dutton Colt* made Silence by ſpeaking: *Mr.* Foley, ſaid he, *ſince this Gentleman is ſo tender that he muſt not be asked Queſtions concerning himſelf, we will let that go, and preſume him guilty of all that has been alledged againſt him. But I hope I may ask him a Queſtion concerning ſomebody elſe.* At this, Sir *Dudley North*, knowing the Man, and expecting he would have named his Brother the Lord Keeper, began to warm, and his Blood to mend its Pace: And, had that been perceived, any one, that knew him, would have expected ſomething extraordinary to follow. Then Mr. *Colt* went on, and, *I ask him*, ſaid he, *if Secretary* Jenkins *did not come down to the City, and perſuade him to take the Office of Sheriff upon him. You hear the Queſtion*, ſaid the Chairman. After which there was a profound Silence, expecting the Anſwer. All which time Sir *Dudley North* was gathering as much Breath as he could muſter, and, then, out came a long *No--o--o--o*, ſo loud as might have been heard up to the Houſe of Lords. This was ſo violent, and unexpected, that I could ſee a Start of every one in the Houſe, all at the ſame Inſtant, as if each had had a Daſh of cold Water in his Face: And, immediately, all called out, *Withdraw*; and my Neighbour *Titus Oates*, being, as I ſuppoſe, fruſtrated of his Expectations, cried out, *Aw Laard, Aw Laard, Aw, Aw!* and went his way. Sir *Dudley North* went out, and never was called upon more about this Affair. I might here enlarge upon the Subject of good Fortune attending gallant Actions and Behaviour, and the Perdition of evil-doing, and then ſneaking; but that Matter lies here groſs and obvious, ſo will let that paſs. I ſhall only add this Note, to acquit the Proſecutors of acting purely upon Malice, that Covetouſneſs had the greateſt Share in the Motives; for, if it had been voted that the Election had been illegal, and *North* and *Rich* no Sheriffs; then had followed Bills to charge the Eſtates of all that were concerned, to repair the Loſſes the Party ſuffered in thoſe Times. And this was, nevertheleſs, in ſome degree, attempted by petitioning for Leave to bring a Bill into the Houſe of Lords to reimburſe the Fines out of the Eſtates of the Lord Keeper *North*, Sir *Dudley North*, *&c.* This Petition was preſented by the Lord *Stamford*, who had been Chairman to the Committee of Murther. And he, among other Tropes, ſaid that *theſe Men had been murthered too*, meaning in their Eſtates; but, he ſtuttering, theſe Words came out ſo broken, that they were not minded: But my Lord *Weymouth* went to the Table, and, taking up the Petition, moved that *an Enquiry might be had, to find who had counterfeited theſe dead Mens Hands.* This

Jeſt

Jeſt made ſome Lords ſmile, and no Order was made upon that Petition. The like Petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and without Effect; but as the whole Series of this Affair is fully ſet forth in the *Examen*, I refer the Reader to that Book, and ſhall ſay nothing more of it here.

A Snare laid to make him loſe his Friends.

But after this Examination was over, it was given out that Sir *Dudley North* ſhould not eſcape ſo; but, one Way or other, he ſhould certainly be come at: And it was hoped that, if he was ſubſtantially terrified, he might bite at the Bait of taking ſome of his Enemies off. Which done, were it friendly or corruptly, they would have promulged it, and he had loſt his Character, and, conſequently, his Friends, which was a good Preparation for what was to follow: For it is a Method uſed by cunning Men, in Parliament driving, againſt Perſons, when they cannot be directly laid hold on, to lay Traps and Snares to make them hurt themſelves; and ſo they attain the End obliquely. We had the Unhappineſs of an elder Brother, who had attached himſelf to the Faction; and, for that Reaſon, and other Family Differences, we correſponded little with him. But during theſe Stirs, for ought I know meaning well, but deceived by Men of his Party, he comes to me, and tells me that "his Brother would "certainly be undone; and himſelf came out of Friendſhip that he "might know it. He converſed with thoſe who were bent upon it, "and both would, and could, do it; and thoſe were *Hampden*, and "ſome others he named. But he had found one, and the only, Way "to ſave him." *And what is that*, quoth I? He anſwered *to apply himſelf*. I aſked what he meant by *applying himſelf*. He anſwered, *by going to ſome principal Men on the other Side, and ſo intereſt, or ſoften, them*; without which he was infallibly ruined. I ſaid I believed he intended to juſtify himſelf, and thought of no other Courſe. *Ay, there's it*, ſaid he, *he will now go, and, by juſtifying himſelf, be ruined*. So we parted with much Diſſatisfaction on his Part. It is certain nothing would have ruined him ſooner, than ſuch a ſneaking Action as this had been. I once told this Story to the beſt of old Courtiers, Col. *Werden*; and *Ay*, ſaid he, *Juſtifying, that's but one Trick*; alluding to the Fable of the Fox and the Cat.

Juſtification of the former Times.

I cannot part with the Subject of this Examination without obſerving again, as I have done before, what Sycophant Hiſtorians will not be ſo juſt as to ſet forth, nor Poſterity readily believe. And that is, that, notwithſtanding both Houſes of Parliament, with full Bent and Zeal towards a Party, having nothing above to check or reſtrain, but, what rather encouraged them to inquiſite the Actions of their Adverſaries in the Time when they prevailed; and teſting, upon Oath, every Perſon and Perſons, Officers as well as others, as far

far as any petulant Partyman would ſuggeſt or require; and although the Affairs were all great and important, and done in a Strain of Oppoſition and Contention, purſuant to current Methods of Law, yet there was not found the leaſt Corruption, or Peccadillo of Irregularity in any of them: And, if any Inſtance of the like can be ſhewn in Hiſtory, I quit my Obſervation.

A Miſtake of ſome Members about the Time of his being in the Cuſtoms, and their Deſign if it had proved otherwiſe.

This double Inqueſt, of the Houſes in Parliament, reſpecting the Sherifwick of *London*, and the Pretences in Parliament grounded thereupon, gave Sir *Dudley North* much Trouble, but no great Anxiety; becauſe he knew there was no Foundation, on ſuch Accounts, to charge him criminally, or pecuniarily, to which he had not Anſwers incontrovertible. But there was another Matter, which, proving as his Enemies had calculated and ſuggeſted, had given them the utmoſt Advantage againſt him; but, by good Stars, they were miſtaken. It was the Levying the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage upon the Acceſſion of King *James* the Second, before it was given by a Parliament; a full Account of which is to be found in the Life of the Lord Keeper *Guilford*. The Members at *Weſtminſter*, that were eager upon finding Faults with former Adminiſtrations, and the factious Party, that had a ſtronger Inclination to faſten upon Sir *Dudley North* than upon any other Miniſter or Agent whatſoever, had conceived a ſtrong Prejudice that he was in the Cuſtoms at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, and accordingly that (for the grand Offence of levying Money upon the Subject without Act of Parliament) they had him faſt; and they were ſo fond of the Advantage, that it was plain they were very loth to quit it: And it was the hardeſt Thing in the World to perſuade any of them that Sir *Dudley North* was then in the Treaſury and not in the Cuſtoms, which I can beſt affirm that had the Part of talking with, and, if I could, of undeceiving, many of them; for I found plainly I was not credited. The Tendency of the Party, as might be perceived by the common Diſcourſe of moſt People, was to ſet on Foot an Enquiry touching that Fact of levying Money, *&c.* And Sir *Dudley North*, and his Friends, had perpetual Alarms from that Quarter, till direct Accounts, of thoſe Commiſſions, made it plain it could not reach him; and then the whole Deſign was dropt at once, and no Notice taken of it: And it was as good as declared that, if he had been concerned, it would have been puſhed againſt him only, and not againſt any other Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms. Such Partiality will Men profeſs in Combination; which a ſingle Perſon would not have the Face to own.

Before

Before I take this Gentleman into pure Privacy, and ſhew how he paſſed his Time by himſelf, I ſhall take Notice of ſome Paſſages, relating to his Employment, to ſhew with what Prudence and untainted Integrity he proceeded. He had a Brother in Law, who made no ſmall Figure at Court, the Earl of *Yarmouth*. He was entitled to a Farm, in the Cuſtoms, called the Wood Farm, which, when firſt granted, was a very great Boon; but, as the Importation of Deals and Timber, from the northward, encreaſed, it became an immenſe Profit, and was ſaid to have yielded to that Family, firſt and laſt, above one hundred thouſand Pounds. The preſent Benefit was partly to the old Counteſs, and, partly, to the Earl, with a Truſt declared upon it to pay the Debts of the Family. The Work, now, was to obtain a Renewal of that Farm; the old Lady ſolicited, and the Earl ſolicited; Sir *Nicholas Butler* was declared in their Intereſts; and, now Sir *Dudley North* was come into the Cuſtoms, all muſt go ſmooth. And Sir *Nich. Butler* was ſo malicious as to tell them that it was in Sir *Dudley North*'s Power to do it, or to hinder it. This brought Importunity enough upon him. It was not his Way to fly in any one's Face unprovoked, or to give Repulſes till he had fairly reaſoned with them; and then, if the concerned urged him farther, he was apt to be rough. He had examined the Books of the Cuſtom-houſe, and found, by former Reports and Minutes of the Treaſury, that, for unanſwerable Reaſons, all the Outfarms were reſolved to be taken in, and that the Order and Security of the Collection depended upon it; for to have Officers dealing in the Cuſtoms, that the Commiſſioners had no Controul upon, was like ſo many Leaks, at which they could not anſwer what might run out. He ſhewed all this to his Brother in Law, and diſcourſed *Butler* upon it; and he could not deny but that it was a Thing determined, which they could not controvert, if any References came to them; and that it was in vain to attempt by Favour to break into ſuch a Management as this was. But ſtill, ſays *Butler* to his Clients, if Sir *Dudley* will, it may be done. And, at laſt, the beſt Thing, he could do, was, when they ſaid any Thing of it, not to mind them, but to paſs on to other Diſcourſe. If there were any Profit, or Advantage to the Crown, the Forms might have been diſpenſed with; but, againſt the Intereſt of the Crown, he would not join in any Project whatſoever.

Refuſed to aid a Brother in Law againſt Duty.

There was an ancient Gentleman, of the Family of the *Berties*, who was Patent Secretary to the Cuſtoms; and he had officiated there ſome Time; but was altogether incapable of the Buſineſs, which required the moſt expert Secretary that could be found, who ſhould be a Man of Method, Quickneſs of Diſpatch, that, in looking for one Paper called for, ſhould not, as he did, confound a hundred.

Changed the Secretary againſt Importunity.

But if he had ſat there, they muſt have been Secretaries themſelves; for it was plain he could do nothing. Upon this, the Commiſſioners determined to put another in his Place, that ſhould pay him as much as he made of it; and, if this would not do, ſome other Courſe muſt be taken, or they muſt ſhut up Shop. This brought the whole Family Relation upon the Commiſſion, expoſtulating with them, and ſtirring their Intereſt at Court. But their Reaſons were underſtood there; they muſt have Patience; and what the Commiſſioners had done muſt ſtand. Among others, Sir *Dudley North*'s eldeſt Brother came to him and, after much Importunity, aſked what Reaſon he had to turn a Relation out of his Place. Sir *Dudley North* turned ſhort and, looking back at him, ſaid *becauſe he was a Fool.* And ſo went away.

Refuſed a Brother in Law a poſtponed Debt.

He had another Brother in Law, one Mr. *Foley*, whoſe Father had been Ironmonger to the Navy for diverſe Years, and, after his Death, he ſucceeded him. The Method of the Navy had been looſe, and, during the *Dutch* Wars, great Abuſes paſſed, and Debts inſuperable were contracted. I have heard ſay that the former Contractor hath had Bills filed up, as for Goods delivered at the Yards, to the Value of five hundred Pounds, and did not deliver in one Nail. This Debt growing too great, poſſibly, ever to be paid, the Treaſury, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, thought fit to poſtpone this Debt, and ſerve the, then, preſent Occaſion with ready Money. There was no great Juſtice in this; but what they called Neceſſity, came in the Room of it: All that Reign, and King *James*'s Reign, that Debt ſtood deſperate. But when Sir *Dudley North* came into the Treaſury, Mr. *Foley* concluded he ſhould obtain the Favour to have his Part, and often made it a Subject of Diſcourſe to his Brother in Law; but he told him, unleſs they could pay the whole, they could not pay him. For to ſingle out one and, for Favour, pay him, and let the reſt ſtill ſtand out unpaid, would be unjuſt, and ſcandalouſly partial. And this Solicitation ran up almoſt into a Quarrel; but that ſignified little to the Commiſſioner. But ſince the Revolution, I have heard the Debt was bought by Courtiers for half, and leſs, and put into the new Loans by Way of Debentures, and paid with Intereſt to a Farthing.

Reduced to a private State, and diverted with Mechanics.

But now we have our Merchant, Sheriff, Alderman, Commiſſioner, *&c.* at home with us, a private Perſon, diveſted of all his Mantlings; and we may converſe freely with him in his Family, and by himſelf, without claſhing at all againſt any Concern of the Public. And poſſibly, in this Capacity, I may ſhew the beſt Side of his Character; and, for the Advantage of that Deſign, ſhall here recount his retired Ways of entertaining himſelf from his firſt coming from *Conſtan-*

Conſtantinople to *England*. He delighted much in natural Obſervations, and what tended to explain mechanic Powers; and particularly that wherein his own Concern lay, Beams and Scales, the Place of the Centres, the Form of the *Centre-pins*, what Share the *Fulcrum*, and what the Force, or the Weight, bore with Reſpect to each other, and that he might not be deceived, had made Proofs by himſelf of all the Forms of Scales that he could imagine could be put in Practice for deceiving.

Spoiled a Project of Sealing Beams.

During the firſt Seſſions of Parliament in the Reign of King *James* the Second, he ſpoiled an hopeful Project with a few Words; which Project ſome Courtiers had hammered, for profitable Purpoſes, to the Public, no Doubt, to be paſſed into a Law. And that was to have an Office for the proving and ſealing of all Beams and Scales. This had been like the Aulnage, that ſell Seals by the Buſhell; an Office of meer Profit, which ſucceeds in the Nature of a Tax upon the Woollen Manufactory. When he was told of it, he aſſured the Concerned, that no Man, that bought, or ſold, would truſt a Beam the more for their Seal; becauſe a ſlight Fall puts the beſt Beam out of Order. And, for Fear of ſuch Accidents, Men weigh croſs; which certainly expoſes falſe Scales; and Merchants, though they buy abroad, weigh again at home; and there could be no Aſſurance of Scales without Proof. So that Project dropt.

Deteſted all Projects, and derided diverſe of them.

I may, with Conformity, mention here a Deteſtation he had of all Projects. Liberty and Juſtice being his favourite Patrons of Trade. Once he was tempted by a great Lord, his Brother in Law, then in an advanced Poſt at Court, to come into a Copper Mine in *America*; which was held forth to be wonderful gainful, and nothing wanting to enter and take Poſſeſſion, but a little Stock, which was propoſed to be raiſed by ſelling of Shares; and Sir *Humphry Edwin* was the Caſhier, took the Money, and gave out the Grants. *But is it ſo rich a Thing as your Lordſhip ſays*, ſaid Sir *Dudley*? *Ay, I God, is it*, ſaid the Lord, *and will certainly yield cent per cent immediately, and, afterwards, not to be computed.* Then Sir *Dudley* fell a laughing, and ſaid, *if it would yield five per cent in one ſix Months, there could be no Want of Money, for ſuch a Gain that hundreds would ſkip at; and if it were really worth any Thing to a Buyer, they would never come out of the City to the Courtiers for Money.* The ſame Nobleman had bought a Sough, or Drain, to a Lead Mine in the Country near *Wales*, which was begun by one *Vermuyden*, but laid aſide, alack, for Want of a little Money, but might be finiſhed in three Months, of which there was Demonſtration; and there would be an *Indies*. The Merchant was for giving his Lordſhip nine Months. No, the Lord would not take it; three was enough. The

Merchant begged him to take nine, and it was pleaſant to obſerve the Controverſy. But he might as ſafely have offered him nine Years; for it is not done yet. And, for all that, the Sough hath had the Honour to be often ſold, and to die, with the *South Sea*, a Bubble at laſt. I have often, on theſe Occaſions, heard Sir *Dudley North* ſay, *Fuggite gli gran Partiti, Run away from great Bargains.* So I doubt he would have made but an indifferent *South Sea* Merchant.

An Experiment, made at *Conſtantinople* and in *England*, of the Barometer.

When he lived at *Conſtantinople*, I ſent him an Hint, touching the Barometer, of an Experiment which might expoſe, even to a direct View, the Manner how the Air wrought upon the Mercury, to raiſe or ſink it, not without ſome Diſcovery of the Conſequences with Reſpect to wet and dry. He tried it at *Conſtantinople*; and, after he came into *England*, we tried it together. It was no more but this. We erected a Barometer, with the *Stagnum*, in a *Florence* Flaſk, and then, with wet Bladders, and Ligatures upon the Neck of the Flaſk, and upon the Tube, we ſtopt all Communication between the exterior Air, and that ſhut up in the Flaſk. Then we cooled the Flaſk artificially, and the Mercury ſank at leaſt ſix Inches below its Place; and at the ſame Time we perceived a Miſt to gather on the Inſide of the Flaſk, till the Drops began to be ſenſible, and ſome ran down, and ſhewed Water at the Bottom. Then we heated the Glaſs with warm Water, till we came to the moſt furious boiling Water we could bring upon it. And the Mercury immediately mounted, and roſe, at leaſt, ſix Inches higher than its Station; and all the Miſt and Water dried up, and there was fair Weather within. Then we pricked the Bladder, and the Mercury fell to its proper Station. I do not comment upon this Experiment here, it being more proper in another Deſign.

Loved Sights, and feared leſt he ſhould be turned out.

When he came firſt to *England*, all Things were new to him; and he had an infinite Pleaſure in going about to ſee the conſiderable Places, and Buildings, about Town. I, like an old Dame with a young Damſel, by conducting him, had the Pleaſure of ſeeing them over again myſelf. And an incomparable Pleaſure it was; for, at all Remarkables, he had ingenious Turns of Wit and Morality, as well as natural Obſervations. But once I was very well pleaſed to ſee the Power of Habit, even in his Mind, and Apprehenſion of Things. I carried him to *Bridewell*, where, in the Hemp-houſe, there was a fair Lady, well habited, at a Block. We got in and ſurveyed her: But the Cur, that let us in at the Door, put on his touchy Airs, expecting his Sop at our going out, and ſpoke hoarſe and loud. My Gentleman could not, for his Life, but be afraid of that Fellow, and was not eaſy when we went in, nor while we ſtaid; for he confeſt himſelf that the Raſcal was ſo like a *Turkiſh Chiaus*, he

he could not bear him, and wondered at me for making ſo ſlight of him and his Authority, and really fancied we ſhould not get clear of him without ſome Miſchief or other. Such was indeed a neceſſary Prudence at *Conſtantinople:* And, not only in this but, in the Caſes of other Merchants, who had lived in *Turky*, I have obſerved that if there were a Croud, or a Clutter in the Street, to which moſt People go to ſee what is the Matter, they always draw off for Fear of being ſingled out to be beaten. In a Cathedral Church, I could ſcarce get my Merchant to take a Place with me; but he would pull, and correct me, as being too forward, and for Fear of ſome Inconvenience. Here is a Conſequence of living under abſolute and rigorous Lords. Whereas, amongſt us, there is ſcarce any Regard at all had to ſuperior Powers; if I may term them ſuch, that cannot puniſh but in Mood and Figure, and by due Courſe of Law.

Saw the *Monument*, and *Bow* Steeple, and ventured high.

He took Pleaſure in ſurveying the *Monument*, and comparing it with Moſch Towers, and what, of that Kind, he had ſeen abroad. We mounted up to the Top, and, one after another, crept up the hollow Iron Frame that carries the Copper Head and Flames above. We went out at a riſing Plate of Iron that hinged, and there found convenient Irons to hold by. We made Uſe of them, and raiſed our Bodies entirely above the Flames, having only our Legs, to the Knees, within; and there we ſtood till we were ſatisfied with the Proſpects from thence. I cannot deſcribe how hard it was to perſuade ourſelves we ſtood ſafe; ſo likely did our Weight ſeem to throw down the whole Fabric. But the Adventure, at *Bow* Church, was more extraordinary. For, being come to the upper Row of Columns, next under the Dragon, I could go round between the Columns and the Newel; but his Corpulence would not permit him to do that: Wherefore he took the Column in his Arm, and ſwung his Body about on the Outſide; and ſo he did quite round. Fancy, that, in ſuch a Caſe, would have deſtroyed many, had little Power over his Reaſon, that told him there was no Difficulty, nor Danger, in what he did.

He was ſo great a Lover of Building that St. *Pauls*, then well advanced, was his ordinary Walk: There was ſcarce a Courſe of Stones laid, while we lived together, over which we did not walk. And he would always climb to the uppermoſt Heights. Much Time have we ſpent there in talking of the Work, Engines, Tackle, *&c.* He ſhewed me the Power of Friction in Engines; for, when a Capſtern was at work, he did but gripe the Ropes, between the Weight and the *Fulcrum*, in his Hand, and all was faſt; and double the Number of Men, at the Capſtern, could not have prevailed againſt that Impediment, to have raiſed the Stone, till he let go. We uſually

went

went there on *Saturdays*, which were Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*'s Days, who was the Surveyor; and we commonly got a Snatch of Diſcourſe with him who, like a true Philoſopher, was always obliging and communicative, and, in every Matter we enquired about, gave ſhort, but ſatisfactory, Anſwers. When we were upon *Bow* Steeple, the Merchant had a Speculation not unlike that of a Ship, in the Bay of *Smyrna*, ſeen from the Mountains. Here the Streets appeared like ſmall Trenches, in which the Coaches glided along without any Unevenneſs as we could obſerve. *Now this*, ſaid he, *is like the World. Who would not be pleaſed in paſſing ſo equably from Place to Place. It is ſo when we look upon great Men, who, in their Courſes, at our Diſtance, ſeem to glide no leſs ſmoothly on; and we do not perceive the many rude Jolts, Toſſings, and Wallowings they feel; as whoever rides in that Coach feels enough to make his Bones ake, of which, to our Notice, there is no Diſcovery. And farther, ſaid he, let not the Difficulties, that will occur in the Way of moſt Tranſactions,* however reaſonable, *deter Men from going on; for here is a Coach not one Moment free from one Obſtruction or other; and yet it goes on, and arrives, at laſt, as was deſigned at firſt.* He uſed to obſerve the ordinary Decays of Building, and where Strength was moſt needed. He took Notice that Compaſs Arches did not preſs uniformly; for, at the Key, or Crown, the Joints at the upper Sweep, or Outſide, pinched hard, and gaped underneath; and contrarily, at the Shoulders, thoſe underneath pinched, and thoſe above gaped; and for that the Material, as rubbed Brick, uſually cruſhed there; and that the Pinching below tends to Riſing. Wherefore, to ſecure a Compaſs Arch, it was neceſſary by Weight, or ſome other Means, to keep down the Shoulders which, riſing, let the Crown, or Key, fall in. This Sort of Decay he obſerved in the great oval Arches over the Gates of the Merchants Houſes in *Mincing Lane*; and how, by the Example of them, at *Powis* Houſe in *Lincolns Inn Fields*, they ſhouldered and keyed the *Portico* Arches with Pieces of Stone, becauſe Brick was not ſtrong enough to bear the Cruſh of ſuch Weights as lay upon it.

Reaſoned why diverſe Buildings failed.

He obſerved that the great Arches, at the Floor of St. *Pauls*, after the Centres were ſtruck, fell in twice; and he was much puzzled to find out the Reaſon of it; which he did, and then fancied the Builders themſelves did not know it, till after the ſecond Fall had ſhewed it them. It ſeems ſuch Things were not to be talked of there, and no Subject of Diſcourſe with the Workmen. The middle Vault was caſt in three, as a middle and ſide Iſles; and the Moulds were parabolic; ſo as the narrow Iſles, on each Side, keyed as high as the Middle. Then it was apparent that the Thruſt of the

the middle Arch bore upon the Voids of the two Sides; and thoſe, yielding but a little, let the Middle break from its Truth; and then, down they muſt come. But, not only at St. *Paul's* but, at many other Places he had the like Diverſion; for wherever there was a Parcel of Building going on, he went to ſurvey it; and particularly the high Buildings in *Arlington Street*, which were ſcarce covered in before all the Windows were wry mouthed, the Faſcias turned SS, and diverſe Stacks of Chimnies ſunk right down, drawing Roof and Floors with them; and his Point was to find out from whence all this Decay proceeded. We had converſed ſo much with new Houſes that we were almoſt turned Rope Dancers, and walked as familiarly upon Joice in Garrets, having a View, through all the Floors, down to the Cellar, as if it had been plain Ground.

His Deſire to build, and Practice in Surveying.

He had a great Inclination to build an Houſe for himſelf; and, to accommodate his deſigning Capacity, he bought a plain Table, and a Set of Mathematical Inſtruments; and, however he might miſs his Aims, the Charge was not loſt, for he left Poſterity behind him who have made better Uſe of them than he ever would have done. But he drew, and I drew, and much Altercation we had. But he never was bleſſed with Ground in Town or Country, to let him into the Pleaſure of that Exerciſe. He had a mighty Fancy for that Convenience, which he had made for himſelf in *Turky*, called an *Odgera*, or firetight Room; with a ſtately adorned Counting-houſe over it, to be done with all ſolid Brick and Stone; ſo that, the Doors ſecured (which were to be of Iron) there could come no Damage by Fire to any Thing in them. He was ſo kind as to come to view and, afterwards, to paſs a little Time in the ſmall Tenement I bought; and our whole Time was paſſed in Surveying and Projecting. The Country People thought us Conjurers, pretending to ſurvey a Ground by Views at two Stations, without meaſuring a Side, or any Part, but from one Station to another. So, at his Brother's, the Lord Keeper *North*'s, at *Wroxton* our Time was ſpent much at the ſame Rate. Theſe were, not only innocent but, active and healthful, Diverſions, and (when ſpending of Time is the chief Point) the moſt commendable of any.

A good Huſband, and lived reaſonably.

His domeſtic Methods were always reaſonable; but, towards his Lady, ſuperlatively obliging. He was abſent from her as little as he could, and that was being abroad; but, at home, they were ſeldom aſunder. When he had his great Houſe, a little Room, near his Chamber, which they called a Dreſſing Room, was ſequeſtered for the Accommodation of both of them. She had her Implements, and he his Books of Account, in large Eſcritoires there; and, having fixed a Table and a Deſk, all his Counting-houſe Buſineſs was done there.

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Reaſoned why diverſe Buildings failed.

He obſerved that the great Arches, at the Floor of St. *Pauls*, after the Centres were ſtruck, fell in twice; and he was much puzzled to find out the Reaſon of it; which he did, and then fancied the Builders themſelves did not know it, till after the ſecond Fall had ſhewed it them. It ſeems ſuch Things were not to be talked of there, and no Subject of Diſcourſe with the Workmen. The middle Vault was caſt in three, as a middle and ſide Iſles; and the Moulds were parabolic; ſo as the narrow Iſles, on each Side, keyed as high as the Middle. Then it was apparent that the Thruſt of the

the middle Arch bore upon the Voids of the two Sides; and thoſe, yielding but a little, let the Middle break from its Truth; and then, down they muſt come. But, not only at St. *Paul's* but, at many other Places he had the like Diverſion; for wherever there was a Parcel of Building going on, he went to ſurvey it; and particularly the high Buildings in *Arlington Street*, which were ſcarce covered in before all the Windows were wry mouthed, the Faſcias turned SS, and diverſe Stacks of Chimnies ſunk right down, drawing Roof and Floors with them; and his Point was to find out from whence all this Decay proceeded. We had converſed ſo much with new Houſes that we were almoſt turned Rope Dancers, and walked as familiarly upon Joice in Garrets, having a View, through all the Floors, down to the Cellar, as if it had been plain Ground.

His Deſire to build, and Practice in Surveying.

He had a great Inclination to build an Houſe for himſelf; and, to accommodate his deſigning Capacity, he bought a plain Table, and a Set of Mathematical Inſtruments; and, however he might miſs his Aims, the Charge was not loſt, for he left Poſterity behind him who have made better Uſe of them than he ever would have done. But he drew, and I drew, and much Altercation we had. But he never was bleſſed with Ground in Town or Country, to let him into the Pleaſure of that Exerciſe. He had a mighty Fancy for that Convenience, which he had made for himſelf in *Turky*, called an *Odgera*, or firetight Room; with a ſtately adorned Counting-houſe over it, to be done with all ſolid Brick and Stone; ſo that, the Doors ſecured (which were to be of Iron) there could come no Damage by Fire to any Thing in them. He was ſo kind as to come to view and, afterwards, to paſs a little Time in the ſmall Tenement I bought; and our whole Time was paſſed in Surveying and Projecting. The Country People thought us Conjurers, pretending to ſurvey a Ground by Views at two Stations, without meaſuring a Side, or any Part, but from one Station to another. So, at his Brother's, the Lord Keeper *North*'s, at *Wroxton* our Time was ſpent much at the ſame Rate. Theſe were, not only innocent but, active and healthful, Diverſions, and (when ſpending of Time is the chief Point) the moſt commendable of any.

A good Huſband, and lived reaſonably.

His domeſtic Methods were always reaſonable; but, towards his Lady, ſuperlatively obliging. He was abſent from her as little as he could, and that was being abroad; but, at home, they were ſeldom aſunder. When he had his great Houſe, a little Room, near his Chamber, which they called a Dreſſing Room, was ſequeſtered for the Accommodation of both of them. She had her Implements, and he his Books of Account, in large Eſcritoires there; and, having fixed a Table and a Deſk, all his Counting-houſe Buſineſs was done there.

there. The Counting-houſe itſelf was below, where was Accommodation for a Man (but he took none, on Account of Merchandiſe, after he had ſent *Fairclough* to *Conſtantinople)* and alſo a Room, within, for the Maſter; and his Brother, when in *England*, which was not long after his Settlement there, uſed that. He kept a Servant that wrote, and found him Employment by copying, *&c.* Once he took a Schoolmaſter, of *Bodicoat* near *Banbury*, to be his Butler (that was the Style of his Office) and coming once into the Counting-houſe, he found an Aſtrological Scheme lying before this Man. He took it, and *what is this for*, ſaid he? The Fellow anſwered, *To know if he ſhould proſper in his Place. I'll tell you*, ſaid his Maſter, tearing the Paper to Pieces, *if you behave yourſelf diligently and well, you will proſper; otherwiſe you will not.* The Fellow was cured of his Aſtrology, and made a very good Servant; and, being preferred to the Cuſtoms at *Briſtol*, a very good Officer.

Private Paſtime, and diligent Care of his Children.

Here he reckoned with Tradeſmen, and paid and received what came into his own Caſh; but he uſed the Room above to wilder in his Accounts; and his Wife uſed to wonder how it could be that he ſhould have ſo much to do there. Once (as I hinted) the Cuſtomhouſe Accounts were brought there; and he went to work with them, for making Collections by which he might clearly ſolve the *Enigmas*, that came from the Treaſury. He wallowed ſo much in thoſe, and with ſo much Application, that his Wife was afraid he would have run mad. There alſo he read ſuch Books as pleaſed him; and (though he was a kind of a Dunce at School) in his Manhood he recovered ſo much *Latin* as to make him take Pleaſure in the beſt Claſſics; eſpecially in *Tully*'s Philoſophics, which I recommended to him. If Time lay on his Hands, he would aſſiſt his Lady in her Affairs. I have come there and found him very buſy in picking out the Stitches of a diſlaced Petticoat. But his Tenderneſs to his Children was very uncommon, for he would often ſit by, while they were dreſſing and undreſſing, and would be aſſiſting himſelf if they were at any Time ſick, or out of Order. Once his eldeſt Son, when about five Years old, had a Chill-blain, which an ignorant Apothecary had converted into a Wound; and it was Surgeons Work for near ſix Months; and the poor Child relapſed into Arms again till it was cured. But, after the Methods were inſtituted, the Father would dreſs it himſelf.

His Way of ſupplying the Houſe with Vinegar.

In that great Houſe he had much more Room than his Family required. He had ſeldom any Company, except his Lady's Relations, and thoſe not long. He uſed his ſpare Rooms for Operations and natural Experiments; and one Operation was a very uſeful one, and that was a Fabrick for Vinegar. He managed that in three

three Veſſels. The firſt had the Fruit, or whatever was the Ground; this was always foul. From hence he took into the next Veſſel, where it refined; and, out of that, he drew into a third, and, from thence, took for Uſe. The firſt was continually ſupplied with Raiſin Stalks, warm Water, *&c.* In this manner, after the Courſe was begun, the Houſe was ſupplied, with little or no Charge, for ſeveral Years.

Loved traveling. His Summer Reſidence.

He loved travelling, but hated a Coach, becauſe it made him a Priſoner, and hindered his looking about to ſurvey the Country, in which he took a great Pleaſure; and, for that Reaſon, he loved a Horſe. I had a grave Pad that fitted him, and he always defired the Uſe of that ſage Animal, that was very ſure and eaſy, but ſlow. While his Wife's Mother, the Lady *Cann*, lived at *Briſtol*, he made annually a Viſit to her; and, when I had the Honour to ſerve as Recorder there, I accompanied him. We joined Equipages, and ſometimes returned croſs the Country to *Wroxton*, the Reſidence of the late Lord *Guilford*. We had the Care of Affairs, there, as Truſtees for the young Lord *Guilford*, who was ſent abroad to travel; and we thought it no Diſſervice to our Truſt to reſide upon the Spot ſome time in Summer; which we did, and had therein our own Convenience, and charged ourſelves in the Accounts to the full Value of ourſelves, and the Diet for our Horſes. But, our Way of living there being ſomewhat extraordinary, I think it reaſonable to give an Account of it. In the firſt Place, the Lady had a ſtanding Quarrel with us; for we had ſuch a conſtant Employ, that ſhe could have none of her Husband's Company; and when ſhe came to call him to Dinner, ſhe found him as black as a Tinker.

Manual Exerciſes.

There was an old Building, which was formerly *Hawk*'s Mews. There we inſtituted a Laboratory. One Apartment was for Wood-Works, and the other for Iron. His Buſineſs was hewing and framing, and, being permitted to ſit, he would labour very hard; and, in that manner, he hewed the Frames for our neceſſary Tables. He put them together only with Laps and Pins; but ſo, as ſerved the Occaſion very well. We got up a Table and a Bench: But the great Difficulty was to get Bellows and a Forge. He hewed ſuch Stone as lay about, and built an Hearth with a Back, and, by Means of Water, and an old Iron which he knocked right down, he perforated that Stone for the Wind to come at the Fire. What common Tools we wanted, we ſent and bought, and alſo a Leather Skin, with which he made a Pair of Bellows that wrought over Head, and the Wind was conveyed by Elder Guns let into one another, and ſo it got to the Fire. Upon finding a Piece of an old Anvil, we went to work, and wrought all the Iron that was uſed in our Manufactory. He delighted moſt

in hewing. He allowed me, being a *Lawyer* as he ſaid, *to be the beſt Forger*. We followed the Trade ſo conſtantly and cloſe, and he coming out ſometimes with a red ſhort Waſtecoat, red Cap, and black Face, the Country People began to talk as if we uſed ſome unlawful Trades there, clipping at leaſt; and, it might be, coining of Money. Upon this, we were forced to call in the Blackſmith, and ſome of the Neighbours, that it might be known there was neither Damage nor Danger to the State by our Operations. This was Morning's Work, before dreſſing; to which Duty we were uſually ſummoned by the Lady full of Admiration what Creatures ſhe had in her Family. In the Afternoons too we had Employment which was ſomewhat more refined; and that was Turning and Planing; for which Uſe we ſequeſtered a low Cloſet. We had our Engines from *London*, and many round Implements were made. I contrived a Way-wiſer, and we both wrought upon it hard till it came to Perfection, and was fixed upon a Calaſh we uſed. The Compaſs of the hinder Wheel of it was about ſixteen Feet and an half, which is a Statute Rod, and the Diameter five Feet and a half, the ordinary Width of Cart-Wheels; which, tripled, comes near to that Length. In this Inſtrument there were three Wheels, and thoſe had Indexes. The firſt went about in thirty-two Rod, the ſecond in a Mile, three hundred and twenty; and the third in ten Mile, three thouſand two hundred; which was fine enough, to be done all in Wood. But, whilſt we were in high Diverſion, an unfortunate Accident happened; which was this.

Mr. *Mountagu North* a Priſoner in *France*.

Sir *Dudley North*'s Brother, and Partner, Mr. *Mountagu North*, deſigned to go back to *Conſtantinople*. He went by Way of *France*, and made a ſmall Stop at *Paris*, intending to embark for the *Levant* at *Marſeilles*. At that time an Embaſſador was going out from *France* to *Turkey*; and, it ſeems, his Curioſity went too far; for he made Intereſt to ſee the Preſents, and talked with more Intelligence of *Turky* than ordinary. This made the *French* Nation take Umbrage, and ſtop his Journey at *Marſeilles*, and ſend him to the Caſtle at *Tholon*, where he lay three Years and a half, with an immenſe Loſs in his Affairs. But it made him amends in his Health; for, living ſo long in an excellent Air with an exquiſite Diet, full, but temperate, from a very craſy, he became a very athletic and ſound Gentleman. The News of this Misfortune came to us at *Wroxton*; and immediately Sir *Dudley North*, who was a moſt kind Relation, and particularly to this, for Reaſons hinted before, equipped for a Journey to take what Care he could of him. I went with him, and never knew ſo melancholy a Time in *London*; for it was deep Vacation, very few of our Acquaintance in Town; and Sir *Dudley North* and I

ſpent moſt of our Time like two Spectres, walking about from one Perſon or Place to another. We got what Recommendations we could from Perſons we thought had Credit in King *James*'s Court, there, to aſſure his Voyage was for Trade, and not Politics; and were aſſured we had all that Intereſt for his Freedom: But that would not do; and we could not otherwiſe apply to the *French* Court, it being a jealous Time of War. All, we could do of that ſort, was to get a *Fede* of the Merchants, ſigned by public Notaries. We had one drawn to ſignify to all to whom, *&c.* of our Caſe; and ſpeaking to the Merchants on the *Exchange*, every one, we ſpoke to, went and ſigned it. This was ſent, but without Effect; for with the *French*, as with all Politicians, Jealouſies, with, or without, a Reaſon, for Purpoſes of Caution, are taken as Certainties. So, this Expedition proving fruitleſs, we returned to our Poſt in the Country again.

Mechanic Exerciſes purſued.

And there Sir *Theophilus Gimcrack*, as Sir *Dudley* was pleaſed to ſtyle our Way-wiſer, the wooden Knight, was a Call to go abroad in the Chaiſe, with deſign to prove the Diſtances of Places; and it was no ſmall Entertainment to obſerve the unaccountable Variety of vulgar Eſtimates. But, in our Laboratories, it was not a little ſtrange to ſee with what Earneſtneſs and Pains we worked, ſweating moſt immoderately, and ſcarce allowing ourſelves Time to eat. At the lighter Works, in the Afternoon, he hath ſat, perhaps, ſcraping a Stick, or turning a Piece of Wood, and this for many Afternoons together, all the while ſinging like a Cobler, incomparably better pleaſed than he had been in all the Stages of his Life before. And it is a mortifying Speculation, that of the different Characters of this Man's Enjoyments, ſeparated one from the other, and expoſed to an indifferent Choice, there is ſcarce any one, but this I have here deſcribed, really worth taking up. And yet the Slavery of our Nature is ſuch, that this muſt be deſpiſed, and all the reſt, with the attendant Evils of Vexation, Diſappointments, Dangers, Loſs of Health, Diſgraces, Envy, and what not of Torment, be admitted. It was well ſaid of the Philoſopher to *Pyrrhus*: *What follows after all your Victories? To ſit down and make merry. And cannot you do ſo now?*

Liked no Employment that did not admit of ſitting.

Sir *Dudley North* made very little Difference how he ſpent his Time, provided he was doing, and might ſit; for, being corpulent, the old Weakneſs of his Knees made him not ſtand long at his Eaſe. When firſt he came over, I kept a Sailing-Yatcht upon the *Thames*; and the firſt Time we took him aboard, he claps himſelf down upon the Seat by the Helm, and, taking the Whipſtaff in his Hand, *By G--d*, ſaid he, *I'll be Admiral*; and there he ſat, and ſteered, with all the Delight imaginable. And no Entertainment pleaſed him better than this; becauſe he ſat all the while; and, beſides acting and

Conduct, which to him was always reliſhing, he could look about and talk; which was bringing into his Time as much of what he loved as was poſſible. Wherever he was, he was apt to clap him down upon any Seat, and ſay *Jo mi Lamo Don Sentare*, alluding to the *Spaniſh* Judge, who took all, and ſaid, *Jo mi Lamo Don Tomare.* And he did not take Pleaſure in any thing that did not admit ſitting.

Accidentally met with a cunning Principal.

I have but one Paſſage, or two, to relate, before I make a full Cloſe; and that is this: I remember, when he firſt came over, he told us a merry Story of one Mr. *Young*, a *Turky* Merchant, who had laid a Trap for him, which he eſcaped. He was one of their Principals, and had in their Warehouſe a Parcel of rotten unſaleable Goods, which he deſired ſhould be ſold, but not at a Ruin Price. He thereupon wrote a Letter to his Factors to ſell the Goods, but conceived in Terms ſo ambiguous, that they feared the Letter was not a clear Warrant for their making ſuch a Bargain as he might call bad, and, for that Cauſe, wrote him word that they were willing to accompliſh his Deſires, but feared no Sale could be made without great Loſs. This Letter came to the Merchant; and he, concluding his Factors had ſold, wrote a quarrelling Letter, affirming the Goods were ſound, and, if they had ſold under the Market, they muſt make it good to him. When this Letter came, the Merchants were preparing a Diſpatch poſitive for clearer Orders: But, upon this Reprehenſion, inſtead of that, he ſent to his Principal an Anſwer at large, and very particular to every Point, as that, whereas he ſaid the Goods were ſound, they anſwered they were rotten, and, to prove it, the Goods were in the Warehouſe; and the like Concluſion to every Article; which very much diſappointed Mr. *Young*, and cleared the Merchants.

Ill uſed by the *Turky* Company.

I have heard him complain of the ill Uſage he had from the *Turky* Company, whom he had ſerved with indefatigable Pains, and with not a little Skill and Dexterity, and hoped for ſome handſome Acknowledgments, in an honorary Way at leaſt, from them. But, inſtead of that, he had, given him by their Secretary, Articles of Exception to his Accounts. One of them was, that he had put a Tarif upon the Company; which is an arbitrated Rate, as of courſe, without regard to what Expences he had been at. The Caſe was, he, foreſeeing what the Company would want for Preſents, bought them, beforehand, with his own Money, and not theirs, as he had Opportunity, cheap; and, when the Time came, he ſold them to the Company at the Price then current; by which he had then a Merchant's Adventure, and a Merchant's Profit; which was a reaſonable Advantage of his Employ. He anſwered this Matter, and concluded that he did not

not put a Tarif upon the Company; and ſo to all the other Articles, as the Truth was. After which Anſwer, he heard no more: But, if they had gone farther, he was reſolved to have ſtood Suit with them, and ſo to have expoſed them. But he conceived that they, being really and truly in his Debt, affected a Quarrel to cover the ill Uſage intended him. This made him ſometimes ſay, that whoever ſerved a Community, and did not ſecure his Reward, would meet with Quarrels, in the room of Thanks, for all the Good he did them.

Concerned in but one Law-Suit.

He never was named in a Law-Suit, but one: For what paſſed in the Exchequer for Conventicle-Money, as was related, I account none. This Suit was an Hearing before the Lord Keeper *North*, to have a Truſt interpreted; he, in Right of his Wife, being concerned to gain if it went one Way. I remember my Lord Keeper ſaid he wondered, when he ſaw his Brother go croſs the Court, what Chancery-Suit he was fallen into; for he had never ſo much as touched upon it in Diſcourſe. It will ſcarce be believed what rigid Decorums, of that kind, were maintained between thoſe Brothers; but, I know, they were obſerved in utmoſt Strictneſs. The Lord Keeper decreed againſt his Brother; and then they were free to talk. Sir *Dudley North*'s Aunt, the Lady *Dacres*, uſed to complain of her Nephew the Lord Keeper *North*, ſaying that, *to get himſelf Credit, he decreed againſt her. Madam*, ſaid Sir *Dudley North*, *he decreed alſo againſt me, that had a Cauſe, ſo and ſo. Ay indeed*, ſaid ſhe, *even ſo he ſerves all his Relations. But, Madam*, ſaid he, *my Adverſary ſhewed againſt me ſo and ſo. Nay then*, ſaid ſhe, *by my Troth I think my Nephew ſerved you but right. Pray, Madam*, ſaid he, *tell me what your Adverſary ſhewed againſt you.* That confounded her ſo, that ſhe ſaid no more.

Eſcaped a bad Wound, and the Manner.

I have obſerved that Sir *Dudley North* loved a chirping Glaſs in an Evening, but hated Drunkenneſs; and I do not remember I have ſeen him more than fluſtered, as they call it, and not above twice, or thrice, from his firſt coming over to his Death. Once he ſuffered hard for being, if he was, ſo; for, coming out of the *Wonder*-Tavern by *Ludgate*, where he had been with the Citiſens then called *Tories*, he ſtept ſhort of his Coach, and raked his Shin againſt the Edge, which fetched off the Skin. At home, according as formerly in like Caſe he had done, he put wet brown Paper to it; and when it feſtered, and run through that, he put another, and ſo till he had a Caſe, of four or five thick, hard baked upon his Shin; and then it ſwelled much, and grew painful; and a Surgeon was ſent for, and a Doctor likewiſe to watch the Surgeon. At pulling off the Papers, they ſhook their Heads, which was a Symptom he did not like. He was put under ſtrict Rule of Diet and Diſpoſition of himſelf,

ſelf, which he ſtrictly obſerved; and, when it was expected the Wound ſhould heal, it ſtood at a ſtay. The Lord Keeper, deſiring to underſtand the Caſe, fell to ſtudying Surgery; and, having got *Wiſeman*'s Book of Martyrs, as it was called, he read there, that if a Wound was digeſted and clean, and come to Carnification, the ſpare Diet (which was to prevent a Fever) muſt be laid aſide, and one more liberal allowed. His Lordſhip thereupon preſcribed good Meals, and not without a Glaſs of Wine; and then the Breach filled up in a little time. He had another Caſe of Surgery happened in his Family; which was a Coachman wounded in the Leg, by an Accident, in the Stable. He was then Sheriff, and wanted his Servant; and the Caſe was ſuch, that a Surgeon muſt be ſent for, and uſed to prevent Extremity. It was ſo done, and, in a Week, the Surgeon ſet him upon his Seat again. His Bill was demanded, which came to three Pounds; *That*, ſaid the Maſter, *is too much for no more Attendance.* The Surgeon anſwered, *That he conſidered his Worſhip's Occaſion to uſe his Servant; and, therefore, ſet him up in a Week; elſe, that Cure would have held a Month at leaſt.*

The worſt of him and his Morals.

I muſt ſay, in the general, that, after Sir *Dudley North* came and ſettled in *England*, no Perſon whatever lived more untainted with Vice, of any kind, and more conformable to Order, becoming a Layman full of Affairs, than he did; which makes me ſubſtract from what I did but ſuppoſe might have been beyond Sea, and take Things in the beſt Senſe. I muſt own that, when he was very angry (which always happened upon his claſhing with detected Knaves, and very ſeldom otherwiſe) he was apt to let go a Rapper or two. He was a moſt patient Hearer; but, being once informed, and having given his Rule, if People ſtood out in the wrong, and juſtified Falſities, he would be intemperate in his Talk, to a very great degree; which was commonly cenſured, as being too much. And here I have depoſed all the Evil, in the worſt Colours, I ever knew of the Man.

His Conſtitution and Temperature, and how cured of a Griping.

It remains now to give an Account of Sir *Dudley North*'s Conſtitution, and Temper of Body; and that, as happened, will not admit of much Commendation: For, at his firſt coming over, he carried himſelf with a ſort of Braveur againſt Cold, and uſed an airy Garb; but was ſhrewdly corrected for it: I have obſerved of moſt *Engliſhmen*, that have lived in hot Countries, that, let them take all the Care they can, they will be ſeaſoned at home with bad Colds; and Sir *Dudley North*'s was ſo bad, that it left him Pthiſical; and that ſat upon his Lungs ſo that he could not, at any time after that, bear a ſwift or violent Motion. Afterwards he had a tolerable Health, but never looked upon himſelf to be long-lived; and, indeed, was not much ſolicitous about it. Once he had an Attack of a Diſtemper in his

his Bowels, which was like a Girdle, that circled him round. It did not appear outwardly at all. He took Brandies and Clyſters, and was hacked about the Streets, and all Means were applied that could be thought on to eaſe his Griping, and renew the periſtaltic Motion which ſeemed to ceaſe within him, and not without Danger of inverting. At laſt he ſaid he would take my Medicine. He had obſerved that when I was indiſpoſed, I ſwallowed a great deal of Water-gruel, and ſcarce ever left drinking till I got well again: So, Water-gruel was made, and he drank Tankard after Tankard (for I had often ſaid that it was the Quantity, which being of a Nature cooling, might be truſted, like a long Pole put down to croud away Obſtructions) and he left not off, but, more or leſs, drank almoſt continually, till his Bowels were ſo full, that his Lady feared ſome Rupture. But, at length, he was ſurpriſed with a Diſcharge, up and down, all at the ſame Inſtant, not as a Work of Nature, by Vomit or Stool, but as the Effect of a Compreſſion, even againſt the Force of Nature reſiſting it. Such an Exploſion of all that was within him, happening in that manner, was a Criſis the Doctors ſaid, they had never known before. But it cured him all at once; and he never had any like Complaint as long as he lived after.

Came to live with his Brother *Roger* in *Covent-Garden.*

He had removed from his great Houſe in the City, and came to that in the Piazza, which Sir *Peter Lely* formerly uſed, and I had lived in alone for diverſe Years. We were ſo much together, and my Incumbrances ſo ſmall, that ſo large an Houſe might well hold us both. I believe he found that he wanted Air every Day more than other, and was determined to buy a Country Seat, to enter upon in the Spring, coſt what it would.

Journey to *Briſtol*; at his Return, got a malignant Cold.

When the long Vacation came, we went down to *Wroxton*, as our late Uſe was, and, towards *Michaelmas*, we parted; he towards *Briſtol*, to ſee his Relations there, and I towards *Norfolk*, taking *Attleborough* in my Way; from whence, at his Deſire, I ſaw *Beſthorp*, and recommended it to him. I returned to *London*, and was there before him. After he was come up, his Lady ſaid that ſhe obſerved him very heavy all that autumnal Seaſon, and, in the Journey to *London*, had no Heart nor Spirits to mind Things, as formerly he had done. He had not been long in Town, before his Winter Enemy, a Cold, attacked him. He, being phthiſical, never ſhifted well with a Cold; but it was his reſolved Way, to carry his Evils about with him, which he could not ſhake off; and ſo, with immane Coughing and ſtriving, he uſed to get well again. Now, he worked upon his Books, and went abroad but ſeldom without me; and, the laſt time he was at the *Exchange*, I obſerved an unuſual Deadneſs in his Countenance; and he did not cough ſo much as uſual, but wanted Breath;

Breath; and very often, as one tired, went and ſat him down upon the Benches.

His laſt Sickneſs and Behaviour.

After we had dined, he eating and drinking very little, and being very dull, I went my Way, and left him, not dreaming his Caſe was ſo bad as it really was; for we had adjuſted, two Days after, to go down and agree for *Beſthorp*; and the beſt of our Diſcourſe, ſome Days before, was of the good Air and Diverſion we ſhould have in that Journey, and what good Neighbours we ſhould be to each other in the Country. And Woe had been to me, if we had gone, and he had been taken ill in the Journey. At Night, according to Cuſtom, I came home, and found him in Bed, and his Lady ſitting ſilent and ſorrowful in the Room, with Mr. *St. Amand* the Apothecary. This was a ſtrange Scene: But, it ſeems, in the Afternoon, his Breath had almoſt left him, and he grew fiery hot with a Fever, and not able to ſit up, as he would have done if he could. He was thereupon put to Bed, and, as I found him, lay gaſping for Breath, without any manner of Diſcharge, or Offer at coughing, whereby he might have been a little relieved. He diſcourſed ſeriouſly, that he found himſelf very ill, and concluded he ſhould die; that he knew of no Cauſe of this Illneſs on his Part, and God's Will be done. Dr. *Radcliff* was ſent for; and he, obſerving his breathing with a *Syncope*, or ſmall Hiccup, (if thoſe may not be counted one and the ſame Term) aſked if he was uſed to breathe in that manner; and, ſomebody ſaying *No*, he aſked no more Queſtions, concluding, as I believed, that the Patient could not recover. The next Day, the Miniſter came, and he had the holy Sacrament given him; and, whilſt he lay ill, which was not above two or three Days, the Prayers of the Church.

His Regimen, Diſcourſe, and final Departure.

He had no Medicines but a little Cordial Julap, and, as *Radcliff* preſcribed, a Pectoral, more for Form than any thing elſe, being only a little freſh drawn Linſeed Oil. He was, as I perceived, reſolved not to be a Subject of the Artiſt's Experimentations, and did reluct at that nauſeous Medicine, and was juſt going to declare, I had almoſt ſaid ſwear (as, in the Height of Paſſion, ſometimes he did) that he would not take it; but he ſtopped in that Inſtant, and I know not if any one, but myſelf, obſerved it; and then he ſaid, *What you will*, without any Diſturbance at all. I thought Religion, as well as Reaſon, whiſpered him that his Time was his Friends, and not his own, and that he ſhould not add Affliction to them by any averſe Singularity on his Part, which he might prevent by his entire Reſignation; and, from that Time to the laſt, he behaved himſelf accordingly. Mr. *St. Amand*, who had been our Neighbour and Acquaintance, and with whom we uſed to talk merrily about his Trade, and how little Life

(truly conſidered) was worth, thought now that he had got a Convert, with a large Table and Window-Boards to be furniſhed with Pots and Glaſſes; but he found little or nothing, of that kind, called for; and a Patient too, who was not concerned at his Caſe, but ſeemed as willing to die as to live. This affected him ſo much that he could not hold ſaying, *Well, I never ſaw any People ſo willing to die as theſe* Norths *are.* Sir *Dudley* lay not long in this manner; but, in all good Senſe, Conſcience, and Underſtanding, perfect Tranquillity of Mind, and entire Reſignation, he endured the Pain of hard breathing till he breathed no more; which happened on the 31ſt of *December* 1691.

Interred in *Covent-Garden* Church, and removed to *Glemham.*

After this, his almoſt dying Widow retired; and it fell to my Share to provide for the Funeral, which was honourably celebrated, and his periſhable Part depoſited in *Covent-Garden* Church, near the Altar. His Lady, recovering herſelf by ſlow Degrees (for her Grief had no Cure but Time) undertook the Charge of educating her two Sons, his only Remains, and making the beſt of their Fortunes, which were amply provided by his laſt Will, and, for their Sakes, of her own: For ſhe continued a Widow twenty-five Years at leaſt; during which Time, ſhe loſt her younger Son *Roger*; which Loſs was alleviated, by her having the Happineſs to ſee her eldeſt Son *Dudley* married and ſettled in Proſperity, with his Family, at *Glemham* in *Suffolk.* And when her Time of Change was come, ſhe choſe to lie in the Pariſh-Church there; adding her Deſire, that the Corps of her Husband might be taken up and, being joined with her's, be conveyed down, and interred both together. All which, by due Order and Authority, was piouſly performed.

A Letter from Adrianople *to one of the Duke of* Tuſcany's *Miniſters, Reſident at* Conſtantinople, *giving an Account of the Feaſts and Solemnities at the Circmciſion of a* Turkiſh *Prince and other Occaſions; written in* Italian, *with an* Engliſh *Tranſlation.*

SIGNOR,

CRedo che gia Tempo fa m'haverete creduto pur ſepulto; E, per dirvi il vero, non ſete ingannato; giache hoggi di ſono piu di 4 Meſe che mi trovo in queſta maladetta citta. Il che ſtimarei non ſolamente piu che il Sepulchro, ma anche piu del Purgatorio, e non altro che l'inferno iſteſſo, ſe non fuſſe che un giorno ſpero Redemptione. Baſta, pur trattenervi un poco, vi daro un Conticello del noſtro Viaggio.

S. Eccellenza parti dalla ſua Caſa in Pera il 2do. di Maggio S. V. con un grandiſſima Trena; Eſſendoci in tutto piu di 120 Cavalli, con 55 Carri pur Baggaglio, et una Lettica doppia portata da 4 muli attacati Inſieme, a due a due, dove montava S. Eccellenza, et il Sigr. Cavagliere. E di ſopra, pur bon Reſpetto, una Carrozza da ſei. Vi laſcio conſiderare un poco, quanto ci ha coſtato a metterci in queſto Ordine.

SIR,

I Believe Length of Time makes you conclude me buried; and, to ſay Truth, you are not much miſtaken; for it is now above four Months that I have abode in this accurſed City: A ſtate to me beyond the Grave, and worſe than Purgatory, even Hell itſelf, were it not that one day I hope for a Redemption; let i ſuffice at preſent, that, for you Diverſion, I preſent you witl ſome ſlight Account of our Voy age.

His Excellency parted from his Houſe in *Pera*, 2d *May*, Old Style, with a very great Retinue, there being in all more than an hundred and twenty Horſes, with fifty five Carriages for the Baggage, and a double Litter, born by four Mules harneſſed together, two and two, and there rode his Excellency and the Knight. Beſides all this, for more Honour, there was a Coach and ſix. I give you leave to conſider a while, what it muſt coſt to bring this Equipage into Order.

Sequitaſſimo

BRITISH MUSEUM

Sequitaſſimo per il primo Conak, non piu che a Ponte piccolo, dove mi ha ſorpreſſo una buona Febretta, per havermi affaticato troppo pur la ſpeditione. E cio fu la Cauſa, che la Carrozza da ſei toccò a mi per la maggior Parte del Viaggio.

We travelled and made the firſt Day's Journey no farther than the ſmall Bridge, where I was ſurpriſed with a jolly Fever got by over-harraſſing myſelf about this Expedition; and, for this Reaſon, the Coach and ſix fell to my Share the greateſt Part of the Journey.

Nove giornate facemmo pur arrivar qui; e nel Entrar la Citta havemmo tutti gl' Honore (che i Turchi vendino alli Franchi pur loro Bezzi, come chiaus Baſhi, &c.) in ſuperlativo Grado; e con buona Ragione; perche noi Mercanti, che pagamo bene, non dovevamo privarſi di queſta Robba vendibile.

After nine Days ſpent upon the Road, we arrived here; and at our Entrance into the City had all the Honours (ſuch as the *Turks* ſell to the *Franks* for their Money, as the *Chiaus baſhi*, &c.) in a moſt ſuperlative Degree: And Reaſon good; for we Merchants pay well, and ought not to be deprived of our Wares.

Entrati nella Citta, ci deſſimo tutti all Diavolo pur Conak; di che erimo maliſſimamente proviſti a Colpa del Sig^r. Antonio che ſtava qui 50 Giorni avanti di noi a queſt Effetto. S. Eccellenza et il Sig^r. Cavagliere, mal ſadisfatti che erano, beſogna che haveſſero Patienza per 2 o 3 Giorni; nel qual mentre fecero un Judeo ricco ſuotar la ſua Caſa. Et Jo, per mia parte, ſcacciai il Sig^r. Antonio del proprio Conak, et ho poſato con buona Commodita. E coſi da poco a poco, tutti trovuſſimo a noſtri buſi, e ſtiamo in ſanta Patienza.

When we had entered the City, we wiſhed the Devil had our Lodgings; of which we were moſt miſerably provided, and all in fault of Signor *Antonio*, who was there fifty Days before us, for that very Buſineſs. But his Excellency and the Knight, ill ſatisfied as they were, were forced to have Patience for two or three Days; in which Time we got a rich *Jew* out of his Houſe; and, as for myſelf, I turned Signor *Antonio* out of his Quarters, and there repoſed with good Conveniency. So, by little and little, every one found his Kennel, and we reſted in the Exerciſe of bleſſed Patience.

Subito che arrivaſſimo (come ſe haveſſero aſpettato) cominciarono le Feſte pur la Circonciſione del Filio del G. Sig^r. E tutto il Serai qua (overo pianura avanti

No ſooner were we arrived, but (as if they ſtayed for us) they began the Sports for Circumciſion of the Grand Signor's Son. All the other Side of the

il Serraglio) vien quaſi coperto dalle Padiglione de G. Sig^r. et altri; dico la Parte la dalla Citta; laſciando ſolamente Luogho Baſtanti per li Giuochi; quale era anche furnito di Cordi per ballare; e verſo la Citta haveva Machine alzate pur metter Lampade.

Queſte Lampade occupavano del Luogho quadro 2 Bande, l'una e l'altra aperte verſo il Serraglio; et il di ſopra pieno di Padiglione dove ſtavano li Grandi. Le Lampade del una Banda erano diſpoſte a foggia del Ramaſan nelle Moſche, e nell' altra erano magnagiate de Arabi nella Forma che fanno le Feſte ſopra il Nilo.

Queſte benedette Feſte durano per il Spatio di 15 Giorni, e la Funtione ſi fece di queſto Modo.

Ogni Giorno circa il mezzo di, Il. Grand Sig^r. dava da mangiare a qualche ſorte di Gente, come alli Spahi, alli Gianizeri et altri; et anche a tutti gl' Artifice, non ſolo di queſta Citta, ma di piu a quelli di Conſtantinopoli, che tutti furono convitati per Amor de gli Preſenti che dovevano portare. Queſt' ultimi, il Giorno che erano chiamati, uſcirono della Citta come fanno quando il G. Sig^r. va alla Guerra (che voi habbia viſto) con ſolenne Proceſſione del loro meſtiere; et in queſta Foggia ſi preſentarono tutti avanti il G. Sig^r. che in Perſona ſtava pur recever' il loro Preſente,

Seraglio, that is the plain before it, was almoſt covered with the Tents of the Grand Signor and great Men; I mean that Part that is fartheſt from the City, leaving Room only ſufficient for the Sports; and that was alſo provided with Ropes for ſhewing Tricks; and towards the City, were erected Frames for placing of Lamps.

Theſe Lamps ſupplied two Sides of the Square, both lying open to the *Seraglio*. The upper Sides were taken up with the Tents of the Grandees. The Lamps, on the one Side, were diſpoſed like thoſe in the Moſchs at Time of *Ramazan*, and, on the other Side, they were managed by *Arabs* as they uſe at the Shews upon the River *Nile*.

Theſe curſed Sports laſted fifteen Days, and the Formalities were performed in this Manner.

Every Day about Noon, the Grand Signor feaſted ſome ſort of People or other, as the *Spahis*, *Janizaries*, &c. ſo alſo all the Artificers, not only of this City but, of *Conſtantinople* alſo, who were all invited for the dear ſake of the Preſents they muſt make. Theſe latter, on the Day of Invitation, went out of the City in the ſame Manner as when the Grand Signor goes to the Wars (which you have ſeen) in ſolemn Proceſſion of their Trades; and ſo they all preſented themſelves before the Grand Signor who, in proper Perſon, ſtood to receive their Preſents. Thoſe be-

ſente,

ſente, quale conſignato che l'havevano, ſi retirano al deſtinato Luogho, dove empivano la Pancia di buon Pilaw ed Aqua benedetta.

ing delivered, they all retired to the Place appointed, and there ſtuff'd their Bellies with Pilaw and precious cold Water.

E giache parlo di Preſente, vi dico che tutti quelli Grandi e Piccoli, che tenevano dell' Imperio, non ſolamente Baſhi, ma anco tutti i Cadini, erano obligati di mandare o portare Preſente a queſta Solennita; e queſto ancora non a loro Beneplacito, ma era ſtabilito un Officiale di Propoſito, che le guardava ſe erano degni, e pareche volte tornavano quel che portavano a dietro per non eſſer ſufficiente. E non ſolamente ſi dava al G. Sig^r. ma ancora alla Valide, Staſſiche, et Stiazadi.

And having ſpoke of Preſents, I muſt add that all Perſons, great and ſmall, that depended on the Government, not only Baſhas but, every little Juſtice, at this Solemnity, were obliged to ſend or bring Preſents; and that not after their own good Wills, but an Officer expreſs was appointed to ſee if they were as they ought to be; and ſometimes they turned back the Preſents as not competent. And they muſt give, not only to the Grand Signor but alſo, to the Queen Mother, the Queen, and the Prince.

All' Honore d'eſſere chiamato a queſta Feſta non fu ammeſſo altero Franco che il Raguſeo che fu chiamato col' ſue Preſente, come gli altri ſudditi del Imperio. Noi (pur che eramo qui) non habbiamo havuto queſt' Honore, ne meno ſi fece conto di noi come ſe qui non fuſſimo ſtati.

No *Frank* is admitted to the Honour of being invited to theſe Feaſts but the *Raguſean*, who was invited to come with Preſents, as other Subjects of the Empire. As for us (altho' preſent) we were not called to that Honour, nor had any more of their Regards than if we had not been at all there.

Conſiderate voi quanta Robba ſi amaſſava da ſi gran Concorſo di Popolo. Baſta. Finito ch' era il mangiare (eſſendo queſta una Feſta di Circonciſione) tutti ch' havevano Figlioli d' Eta d' eſſer tagliati furono preſentati avanti il G. Sig^r. quale ciaſcheduno fece Preſente di Robbe e di Dinaro.

Imagine with yourſelf what a World of Riches muſt be gathered from ſuch a vaſt Concourſe of People: I ſay no more of that. After the Meal was over (if it happened to be one of the Circumciſion Days) all, who had Children of Age fit for that Operation, brought them to the Grand Signor, who preſented each with ſome Garments and Money.

In queſto non mancava di comparire, diverſi Chriſtiani fatti Turchi per farſi tagliare con gl' altri; et in queſta maniera non mancava Giorno che non ſi circonciddeſſere da 300 in 400 Perſone. E nel mentre che queſta ſi faceva, cominciarono gli Giuochi, che erano Balli di Figlioli veſtiti da Donne, con mille ſorte di maſcaralick, di ſtaggi Evat, Cocla, e tutti quelli ſporchi Giuochi che voi havete ſpeſſo viſto in Conſt. Qui pure venivano tutti quelli Perſone che potevano fare qualſivoglia coſa d'eſtraordinario, come ſaltare, lottare, portar Peſo eſtraordinario, o far qualche Coſa di nuovo; E quelche era da veramente di Grande, in un medeſſimo Tempo, in quella gran Piazza, ſi fecero piu ſorte di Giuochi, come a dire, ballare in ſu la Corda in piu Maniere, et anche molte Compagnie che ballavano in Terra, in diverſi Habbiti, altra alla Perſiana, alla foggia loro, altri Compagnie alla Indiana, altri alla Turcheſca, et altri maſcherate in mille Maniere.

Fuori di queſti in piu Luoghi fecero Comedie e diverſi Colloquij ſporchi, il fotere, et il bugearare alla naturale. Piu di queſto fecero alcuni Navi e Galere baſtanza Grande, da potar capire 2 o 3 Perſone dentro, e queſte pendevano ſopra Corde groſſe in modo che potevano menarle quà e là; e coſi formavano Combattimenti navali dando ſpeſſo Fuoco alli piccoli Canonetti che havevano gli Huomini ch' erano dentro. Ma

There wanted not *Chriſtians* turned *Turks* appearing daily to be circumciſed with the others. And, in this Manner, no leſs than between three and four hundred Perſons were every Day circumciſed; and, during that Work, the Sports began, which were of young Men dancing in the Habits of Women, with a thouſand Jack-pudding Tricks, Puppet-Shews, and all thoſe obſcene Repreſentations you have often ſeen in *Conſtantinople*. For all Perſons that could do any thing extraordinary, as dance, wreſtle, carry vaſt Weights, or perform any Novelty, came there at that Time; and what really ſeemed great, in the ſame great Square, and at the ſame Time, were performed diverſe ſorts of Entertainments, as Rope-dancing in ſeveral Manners; and alſo many Companies dancing on the Ground in different Habits, ſome in *Perſian* Habits, in their Way, others *Indian*, ſome *Turkiſh*, with other Maſquerades in great Variety.

Beſides all theſe, in diverſe Places, they had a ſort of Farces acted with ſeveral filthy Dialogues, and all kinds of Obſcenity acted moſt naturally. And alſo they contrived certain Ships or Gallies of ſufficient Bigneſs to contain two or three Perſons within, which they ſuſpended from large Ropes, ſo as they might turn them ſeveral Ways, whereby they formed a kind of Sea-fight often firing the little Cannons they had with-

queſto

queſto era un ſi malfatto ſporco e redicolo diſſegno che peggio non poteva eſſere.

in; but this Contrivance was in the Deſign of it ſo deformed and ridiculous, that worſe could not have been made.

Finito il Giorno in queſta Maniera, doppo un' Hora o due di Reſpiro, cominciando l'oſcuro della Notte, davano Principio all' Fuochi artificiali: Eſſendo formate tutte le lampade in ſuperbiſſima Maniera, et intorno della Piazza v'era un Numero infinito di queſti Arabi Maſſalagini con loro Fuochi in Mano, che queſti pure facevano un belvedere.

After the Work of the Day was done in this Manner, and a breathing Time of an Hour or two paſt, and it began to grow dark, the Fire-works began to play; all the Lamps were put in their Places in manner moſt glorious; and round the Square ſtood an infinite number of the *Arab* Fire-carriers; with their Grates lighted in their Hands; and that in Reality was a fine Appearance.

Poſto tutto in Ordine, cominciavano ad accender le Machine che furono ſempre aſſai, e delle volte paſſava piu di 20 diverſi che brugiarono in una Notte. Oltre di queſto erano anche Huomini in diverſi Parti che laſciavano andare per Aria delle Rochette in una Infinita, e Groſſiſſimi. E coſi durava la Feſta delli Fuochi ſino a mezza Notte.

When all Things were in Order, they began to give fire to the Machines which were always in Abundance; there being no leſs than twenty or more diſcharged every Night, and, beſides theſe, Men were placed about in the Square, who ſent up into the Air Rockets without Number, and of largeſt Size. And, in this Manner, the Entertainment of Fire-works laſted till near Midnight.

Non poſſo particolarizare, queſti Fuochi perche ſarebbero in gran Numero. Ma d'uno che a me pareva eſtraordinario, non poſſo che farne Mentione; quale, benche foſſe ſimplice, era però piu di Stupore, che d'Arte. Era fatto in Terra, e dandogli Fuoco, vomitava fuori Quantita di Scintille a Foggia del Rochetta; ma la Maſſa non ſi menava mai, ma ſtava ſempre firma in Terra d'onde, come dico, vomitando quel

Theſe Fire-works were of ſo many kinds, I cannot deſcribe them all particularly; but one, which to me ſeemed moſt extraordinary, I muſt take Notice of; and that, plain and ſimple as it was, had more of Aſtoniſhment than Art; it was ſet in the Ground, and, being fired, vomited up a World of ſparkling Stuff, like to the Trains of the Rockets, but the Body of it ſtirred not, being fixt in the Earth; but, as I ſaid,

Fuoco

Fuoco che quaſi faceva tremar la Terra, col' Rumore e Tuono, e coll' Horrore di Fuoco, rendeva una Viſta piu toſto ſpaventevole che dilettevole a Spettatori. Ma queſto, pur che c'andavo ſpeſſo, non me era riuſcito pero di vederlo piu di 2 volte, facendolo raramente, e non ſenza particolar' Ordine.

from thence vomited up ſuch Fire, as made the very Earth as it were tremble, with ſuch a Roaring and Noiſe, and with ſuch Horror from the Fire, as with the Appearance rather dreaded than delighted the Spectators; but tho' I went often, it was not my Chance to ſee this above twice; for they uſed it ſeldom, and then not without expreſs Orders.

Altro di ſtrano fuora di queſto non tralaſcio di dirvi, d'una ſorte di Rochetta, che laſciavano; le quali non facevano quella Coda, o Crine, che haveva gl' altri, ma ſolo tanto che baſtava a non perder di iſſi la Viſta; e con tutto cio montavano piu alto di gli altri, e con piu Forza; e doppo la Bota che ancora era grande, Laſciavano molte ſtelle e Fochetti per Aria.

There was another ſtrange Thing, which I ſhall not omit to tell you, being a ſort of Rocket ſent up without ſuch Tail, or Train that others had, but only ſo much as ſerved juſt to keep Sight of them; yet they mounted higher than the Others, and with greater Force; and after the Bounce, which was alſo very loud, they ſcattered abundance of Stars, and little Fires in the Air *.

Gli aſtanti potete ben' credere ch' erano aſſai, chi a piedi, e chi a Cavallo, e per gl' ultimi vi laſcio penſare che potevano havere poco Ripoſo, giache li Cavalli dandoſi un' ſopra l'altro in cenTa Maniera, facendo una Confuſione terribile. E ſi puo dire ſe mai è ſtato un Ballo di Cavalli nobili era quella Volta, giache nell' iſteſſo Tempo ſi vedevano non ſo quante millaia che facendo ogn' uno a modo ſuo ſenza haver' minimo Reſpetto a chi le doveva governare. Ma, per dirvi il Giuſto di queſto godeva poco, giache piu volte quantumque pro-

You may imagine here wanted no Spectators, ſome on Foot, and others on Horſe-back; as for the latter, I refer to your own Thoughts, how far they were from being at Eaſe, while the Horſes flung one over another an hundred ſeveral Ways, in terrible Diſorder. And I can affirm, there never was ſuch a Dance of brave Horſes ſeen as at that Place; for, at one and the ſame Time, you might obſerve, I know not how many Thouſand of them, every one acting after his own Caprice, without any the leaſt Regard to thoſe that pre-

* Theſe were diſcharged out of Mortar Pieces; which then being a new Thing, or out of this Gentleman's Way to underſtand, he writes it as a Wonder.

curano

curano al poſſibile d'haver un Cavallo mite; mi toccava nondimeno eſſer nell' Ballo, e non con poco Riſigo, onde non hebbi tanto Guſto di queſta Parte, ſe non doppo haver trovato il modo di laſciar' il Cavallo a buona Diſtanza.

tended to govern them. And to tell you the Truth, I had ſmall Joy in this Diverſion; and, however we endeavoured all that was poſſible to procure Horſes that were temperate, yet I could not help making one in the Dance, and that not without much Hazzard, which not a little retrench'd my Enjoyments, till I found out the Way to leave my Horſe at a good Diſtance from me.

Vi doveva dire al' Principio, che queſto Quadro, dove giuochavano, era ſempre circondato da Giannizeri con le loro Mitre in Teſta, e Paſtorali nelle Mani, che non laſciavano d' accoſtar troppo la Folla della Gente, che mai non mancava; et ancora per remediare alle Teſte rotte, che ſarebbero ſtate, ſe tutto il Governo fuſſe reſtato a loro; Erano ordinati circa cento Huomini veſtiti tutti de Cuoio, con una Beretta giuſto alla Foggia della Mitre de noſtri Veſcovi, la quale era adornata con diverſi Sonagli che ſopra erano attaccate, havendo anche ciaſcheduno in Mano un utro (detto in Turcheſco, Tulum) *quale, come pure tutto il loro Habito, era unto d' oglio; e pur Capo di queſti havevano meſſo un Corpo piu rediculo che mai ſe poſſa vedere; eſſendo di Statura altiſſima, e di Modo groſſo, e con certa Pancia, che il vederlo baſtave a cavar riſo da un Saſſo. Coſtui veſtito di roſſo, come un Cardinale, Comandava ſopra quella truppa nera, e dove vedeva il Popolo premer' piu, mandava una*

I ſhould have told you at firſt, that the Square, where theſe Sports were acted, was always ſurrounded with *Janizaries*, having their Caps on their Heads, and Staves of Correction in their Hands; and theſe ceaſed not to lay on upon the Preſs of People, which was never wanting. But to prevent the breaking of Heads, which had been plenty, if all had been left to their Diſcretion, there was an Ordonnance of about one hundred Men dreſt all in Leather, with Caps juſt like our Biſhops Mitres, and thoſe ſet off with diverſe little Bells made faſt to the Tops of them; and each of them had in his Hand a *Boraccio*-ſkin (called in *Turkiſh Tulum)* which, as well as their Garments, were all anointed with Oil; and for Captain of theſe they found out a Figure the moſt ridiculous that ever was ſeen, being exceeding tall, and very fat, with a Paunch as the very Sight of him would make a Stone laugh. This Fellow was dreſt in red like a Cardinal, and commanded the black Regiment, and where he

ſquadra che ſubito facevano Luogho, perche ſempre menavano i loro utri, che, dove toccava, laſciava un ſegno, e guaſtava la Robba.

saw the People preſs moſt, he diſpatched a Squadron that ſoon made Room enough; for they always laid about them with their Skins, which never touched but left a Print and ſpoiled the Cloaths.

Di queſta Maniera furono celebrate le Feſte della Circonciſione per lo Spatio di 15 Giorni con poco Varietà; facendo per la piu Parte le medeſſime Coſe. E ſpinte che erano, ſuccede il ſanto Giorno di Merlut, *overo la Feſta per la Naſcita del Profeta Mahomet. Dove habbiamo viſto il G. Sig^r. et il Principe andar' alla Moſchea con molta ſolennita; pero con la ſua Gente di Serraglio ſenza che Neſſuno altro ſi meſcolaſſe, e quella ſera il poveretto perſe il Preputio. Ma non (come dicono) ſenza grandiſſima Repugnanza; il Pare tenendolo per Forza mentre ſi fece il Sacramento.*

In this Manner continued the Celebration of the Feſtivals of the Circumciſion for the Space of fifteen Days, with little Variety, doing, for the moſt Part, but the ſame Things over and over again. At the Expiration of that Time came on the Holyday of *Merlut*, or Feſtival for the Birth of the Prophet *Mahomet*. On that we had the Sight of the Grand Signor, and the Princes proceeding to the *Moſch* with great Solemnity, being attended with the Folks of the *Seraglio* only, without any others being concerned, and that Evening the poor Infant was circumciſed, but (as they ſaid) not without utmoſt Repugnance; the Father holding it by Force during the Operation.

Chi ſa? forſe il poveretto haveva qualche inſtinto divino al' Chriſtianeſmo che lo fece fare queſta Reſiſtenza. Si puol' credere che ſarebbe ſtato piu facilmente contentato alla Ceremonia del noſtro ſantiſſimo Batteſſimo. Voglia Iddio che quando ſara per regnare, ſi recordi di queſta Violenza, e che non permette che piu ſene faccia a Neſſuno; et allhora i noſtri Padri i Frati potranno Sperare un meglior Raccolta di quella che trovano fra queſta ſeta.

Who knows, but this Infant may have ſome holy Inſtinct towards *Chriſtianity*, which made him ſtrive ſo; one may believe that he would have been more eaſily reconciled to the Ceremonies of our moſt Holy Baptiſm. God grant that when he comes to reign, he may remember this ill Uſage, and not permit it to be done to any others. And then our Papaſſes and Fryars may hope for a better Harveſt out of this Sect than they find at preſent.

Ma

Ma piano. Vi devo demandare Perdono per haver ommeſſo dirvi della ſolenne Cavalcata che ſe fatta 2 Giorni prima della Circonciſione, ad Honore del Principe conducendolo tutto la Gente della Corte per buona Parte della Citta al Serraglio, con tutta la Pompa imaginabile; eſſendo ivi pure il Vizir, e tutti li Baſhani quaſi che non mancava altro che la Perſona del G. Sig^r.

Il poveretto era talmente adornato da Gioie, et altri ſuperbi Fornimenti, da quali era coperta di Modo che ſe perdeva, et apena ſe poteva vedere il ſuo Muſino fra tanto Splendore. Poco avanti la ſua Perſona erano portati molti (Nacul *ſi chamano in Turcheſca) di quell' Coglionarie fatti di Fiori, di Cera et Oro Cantarino che havete viſto portare avanti le Spoſe, e ſono grandi o piccoli conforme alla ſpeſa che contentano fare. Da queſti duo, erano molti di Statura mediocre, eſſendo portabile, che da uno, che da duo, et altri de 4 Huomini, le quali paſſando facevano una belliſſima Viſta. Et dietro di queſti erano poi duo fatti di ſtravagante Altezza, e molto grande, eſſendo pichi 27. di Altezza. Queſti duo erano portati delli Schiavi che furono in Numero piu di 250, con alcuni grandi Travi che paſſavano di ſotto, e col' Fiſchio ſi regulevano nel alzare o abbaſſare, come ſi governava nelle Galere, Eſſendoſi poſti ſopra la Machina certi Comiti a tall Effetto; et an-*

But hold. I muſt aſk your Pardon for having omitted to tell you of a moſt ſolemn Cavalcade, two Days before the Day of the Circumciſion, in Honour of the Prince; all the whole Court conducting him thro' the greater Part of the City to the *Seraglio* with all the Glory imaginable, there being the Vizier and all the Baſhas; ſo that nothing was wanting but the Grand Signor's Perſon.

The little Infant was ſo ſet out with Jewels and other rich Ornaments, that it was quite covered with them, ſo as to be loſt; and thro' ſo much Splendor one could ſcarce diſcern its little Countenance. A little before its Perſon they carried ſeveral of thoſe *(Nacul* they are called in *Turkiſh)* dreſt up Trumpery made with Wax Flowers, and ratling Braſs, which you have ſeen carried before Brides at Weddings, and are larger or leſſer according to the Charge they are willing to allow. Of theſe in Pairs many were of moderate Size, being born by one, ſome by two, and others by four Men to each, which, paſſing along, made a very pleaſant View. Behind theſe came two vaſt ones of extravagant Height, no leſs than eighteen Yards, theſe were carried by Slaves in Number about two hundred and fifty with Help of certain Beams that paſſed thro' underneath. Theſe Carriers were managed with a Whiſtle ſo as to raiſe or let ſink the Burthen as they manage in Gallies; there

cora per reggerla accioche non caſcaſſe da neſſuna Banda, haveva Sarſi verſo la Cima, et erano tenuti in Mano da altri Galeotti; poi piu ſotto, dove potevano arrivar con Legni, havevano attaccati 4 di queſti che a Guiſa di Sarſi, erano portati, o tenuti dell' iſteſſi Galeotti. Et ogni Volta che ſi firmava la Machina, appogiavano queſti Legni in Terra per reggerlo. E giache queſte Machine erano ſi alte, e dovendo paſſare per la Citta, havevano proviſto qualche Giorni prima ogni Coſa per buttar giu tutto, quello che poteſſe oſtare al' paſſare d'eſſi. Ne contenti di queſta Diligenza dubitando che forſe trovarebbe Impedimento, accio non di fermaſſero troppo, fecero marchiare appreſſo d'eſſi un Capo Maeſtro di Marangoni con una Truppa di 50 Maſſoni, Ciaſcheduno delli quale era proviſto di manare, Sege, Martelli groſſi, et altri Stromenti neceſſarij, per buttar giu tutto quello che era di Apparenza a dare minimo Faſtidio ad eſſi. E cio fecero in piu Luoghi con una ammirabil Preſtezza, ſaltando ſu, e buttando a baſſo quel che a loro pareva, ſenza conſi-

being plac'd upon the Machine certain Boat-ſwains for that very Purpoſe: And alſo for ſurer Conduct of this, ſo as it might not fall any way, they had *
near the Summit, which were held by other Slaves; and underneath, where they might fix long Staves, four of them were applied, which as the* were alſo carried or held by the ſame Slaves. And when ever the Machine reſted, thoſe were pitch'd on the Ground to ſtay it. And theſe being ſo very tall, and to paſs thro' great Part of the City, for ſome Days before, they had made Proviſion by beating down all Things that might obſtruct their Paſſage. And yet, not being ſatisfied with this Proviſion, and ſuſpecting ſome Impediment might happen, and to prevent all Delay, they had, marching near, a Maſter Carpenter with a Troop of fifty Workmen, every one provided with his Adze, Saw, Sledge, and other neceſſary Tools for battering down all Things that but ſeemed to be in the Way; and they did as much in ſeveral Places, with a wonderful Dexterity, climbing up, and then beating down as they pleaſed, with-

* The *Italian* Word, which the honourable Author of this Work has left un-tranſlated, is here in the *Italian*, *Sarſi*. Now I cannot find that there is any ſuch Word in the *Italian* Language. I have not the Original MS. of this Letter by me; but I am apt to think that the Word, there, was *Sarte*; which ſignifies Ropes, or Cordage for Ships, and particularly the Shrowds which keep the Maſt ſteddy. And what confirms in great Meaſure my Conjecture, is a Print of this *Nacul*, or Pageant, which I found whilſt I was looking over Sir *Paul Rycaut*'s Hiſtory of the *Turks*, Vol. II. For in that there are ſix Ropes, three on one Side, and three on the other, fixed near the Summit of the Pageant, and hanging down from thence low enough for Slaves to take hold of them, and ſo keep it ſteddy. A little below theſe were four long Staves, two on each Side oppoſite to each other, with Holes bored through one End of them, which turned upon Pins that were fixed horizontally to the Pageant. The lower Ends of theſe alſo were held by Slaves; and when the Machine reſted, thoſe Ends ſtuck in the Ground, and ſupported it like ſo many Props.

gliare

gliare il Padrone, o pure dirli con Licentia.

In queſta Maniera fu condotto il Principe al Serraglio, e mettendo queſte due Machine avanti il Kioſk, l'altre piccole portate dentro; e coſi fatta, come primo ho detto, la Circonciſione, fu finita queſta Feſta.

Noi ſperavamo d'obtener' Audienza, e finir' li Fatti noſtri; ma il Diavolo non volſi coſi. Egli haveva altro in Teſta, e per dilettare il ſuo Popolo eletto, machinava nove Feſte, e non ſenza Ragione; perche havendo offeſa la Dea Venere, peccando (come debbiamo credere noi Chriſtiani all' Oppoſitione di circonciſi Turchi e Giudei) col' ſmembrar' il Cotale, voleva placarla col' celebrar' li ſantiſſimi ſuoi riti del Maritagio. E coſi paſſando nel Mentre qualche Giorni neceſſarij pur gl' Apparechi di nuovo cominciavano altri Giuochi che vi dirò adeſſo.

Apparechiata che fu la Caſa di Muſaip Coglioglu quale era per ſpoſar' la figlia del G. Sig^r. cominciavano queſte Feſte, la maggior Parte della quale furono celebrate in Caſa fra le Donne. Ma di fuora via, non cominciarono niente ſe non doppo Kendi, dove facevano tutti quelli Giuochi e Balli che avanti il Serraglio havevano fatto prima. Solamente in Materia di ballar' ſu la Corda facevano molto meglio d'avanti;

out conſulting any Owner, or ſo much as ſaying by your Leave Sir.

In this Manner the Prince was conveyed to the *Seraglio*, and placing the two great Machines before the *Kioſk* (or Houſe of Pleaſure) the leſſer were carried in. So having diſpatch'd the Circumciſion, as I have before related, this Feſtival was at an End.

We hoped now to obtain Audience, and diſpatch all our Affairs; but the Devil was of another Mind, and had other Matters in Hand for the Solace of his Elect, and ſo contrived new Feſtivals, and not without Cauſe; for having offended the Goddeſs *Venus*, ſinning (as we account, that are *Chriſtians*, in Oppoſition to the circumciſed *Jews* and *Turks)* by a Mutilation of that ſame, was reſolved to appeaſe her by celebrating her moſt ſacred Rites of Marriage. And ſo, after a few Days Reſpite, as were neceſſary for the Preparations, new Sports began, as I am about to tell you.

When the Houſe of *Muſaip Coglioglu* was prepared, who was to marry the Grand Signor's Daughter, this Feſtival began; whereof the greateſt Part was tranſacted within Doors among the Women; but, without, nothing appeared till after *Kendi* (or Hour of three) and then all the Plays and Dances as had been before the *Seraglio*, were acted over again; only the Buſineſs of Rope-dancing was much better than

e vera-

e veramente ſi viddero coſe degne di Maraviglio.

Ma per non fermarmi troppo in deſcriverli, vi dirò ſolo che ho viſto un Huomo montar ſu la Corda con un Aſino vivo, e ben grande, ſu le ſpalle. Ma queſto il ballare con Ragazzi Legati ſu la Schena, et altri Giuochi ſimili, erano coſe ordinarie. Ma quello che a me parſe piu ſtravagante, era che un Huomo ſopra un Corda ben teſa, et aſſai alta, tenendola ſolamente con le Mani, ſenza toccar con neſſun altra Parte del Corpo, girava attorno la corda 12. volte ſenza fermarſi, e con una Violenza, che credo ſe haveſſe laſciato le Mani, ſarebbe andato per Aria non ſo ſia dove. Di piu legavano una gran Corda (overo piu attacate aſſieme) ſopra il ſummo del Minare di Sultan Selim, portando l'altro Capo e legatolo nel Giardino di detto Coglioglu; giu di queſto venivano ogni Giorno 2 o 3 di queſti ciambaſhi; chi legato per il Piede, chi per li Capelli ſu la Teſta, chi ſonando Trombetta, e chi tirando Piſtolle, ſecondo pareva meglio ad ogn uno per piacer al G. Sig^r. che moſtrò dilettarſi piu con li Balli di Corda, che con neſſun altro Giuoco. La Diſtanza dal' Summo del' Minarè ſino ad altro Capo della Corda, dove era legato nel Giardino ſuditto, ſtimo d'eſſer tanta quanta della Caſa del noſtro Emb^r. in Pera ſino 4 Cantoni dove ſta il Reſidente di Genoa. E la Forza con la quale queſte Beſtie deſcendevano, era tale che

before; and really we ſaw there Things done worthy of Wonder.

But that I may not dwell too long upon Deſcriptions, I ſhall only tell you that I ſaw a Man mount his Rope with a live Aſs, and no ſmall one, upon his Shoulders; but that of Dancing with a Boy at their Backs, and ſuch like Tricks, were ordinary. But what to me ſeemed very extravagant, was when a Man, hanging at a Rope ſtretched on high, and holding only by his Hands, without touching the Rope with any other Part of his Body, turned round the Rope at leaſt twelve Times without any Stay, and with ſuch Violence that I believe, if he had let go his Hold, he had flown thro' the Air I know not how far off; and what was more, they faſtened a large Rope (or rather more than one ſpliced together) to the Summit of the Tower of Sultan *Selim*, and the other End was made faſt in *Coglioglu*'s Garden. And every Day one or two came down this Rope, ſome by the Feet tied, ſome by the Hair of the Head, ſome ſounding Trumpets, and others firing Piſtols after their own Fancy, for giving moſt Delight to the Grand Signor, who ſhewed himſelf pleaſed with Rope-dancing more than with any other of the Sports. The Diſtance between the Top of the Tower and the Garden, where the other End of the Rope was faſtened, I judge to be as far as from our Embaſſador's Houſe in *Pera* to

trovavano

trovavano grandiſſima Difficolta di fermarſi a baſſo ſenza romper' li Oſſi.

La piu bella era che doppo d'eſſer reſtate queſte Corde diſteſe più Giorni eſpoſte al' Sole et alla Pioggia, ſalta Capriccio ad un di queſti di ligarſi adoſſo un Ragazzo di 12. Anni per battere il Tamburo e Mentre qui ſonava la Trombetta. Venendo appreſſo il Serraglio di Coglioglu, ſi ruppe la Corda, e cade in Terra. Ma la ſua Fortuna volſe che non cade di troppo altezza, et anco caſco ſopra un Albero, poi ſopra l'Eſtremita delli Coppi d'una Caſa, et anco doppo ſopra un diſgratiato Armeno a quale ruppe la Spalla, e lo riduſſe quaſi a Morte, ſenza chi egli s'offendeſſe troppo; ma pero fa levato col' putto pur morto. Ma in pochi Giorni, egli ſi rehebbe per non haver havuto alcun' Oſſo rotto; et il Putto haveva ſolo una buona Ferita nel Mente. E pur queſto il G. Sig^r. diede Mancia, a tutti tre non ſo quante Aſpre il Giorno in Vita. Doppo queſto non ſi fece piu quel Giuoco; ſolo tornarono a legare la Corda nel medeſimo Minarè non pero ſu la Cima, ma appreſſo la ſeconda Galleria. E ſopra di queſta, benche ſi alta e lunga, ho viſto piu Huomini a montare e ſcendere

the four Corners (*viz.* as from the *Exchange* to *Pauls*) where the Reſident of *Genoa* lives. Theſe Fellows came down with ſuch Violence that it was found a moſt difficult Thing to ſtop them without breaking their Bones.

The beſt of all was, that after theſe Ropes had been ſtretch'd, and for diverſe Days expoſed to the Sun and Rain; a Fancy ſprang in one of theſe Fellows to come down with a Boy tied to his Back, who was to beat a Drum while he ſounded a Trumpet; and being come near *Coglioglu*'s *Seraglio*, the Rope broke, and ſo they fell to the Ground; but Fortune had ordered he ſhould not fall far, but in the firſt Place to light upon a Tree, and then upon the End of an Houſe, and after that, upon an unlucky *Armenian*, whoſe Shoulder was put out, and there lay he for dead, but little Harm to the Rope-dancer; yet he and his Charge the Boy, were taken up as dead; but in few Days, there being no Bones broke, he came to himſelf again; and the Boy had only a luſty Wound on his Chin. For this Accident the Grand Signor ſettled on all three a daily Maintenance of I know not how many *Aſpers* for Life. After this, they uſed this Sport no more, but contrived to faſten the Rope to the ſame Tower, not at the Top but, next to the ſecond

ſcendere ritto a piede andando a buon paſſo.

Gallery; and yet, ſo high and long as the Rope was, I ſaw many Men walk up, and come down afoot, going upright and at a good Rate.

Doppo terminati queſti Giuochi, ſi fece la proceſſione della Dote, et altra. Ma prima c'andò il Preſente che il Novizzo mandava alla Spoſa quale era accompagnato del Teſtardar che fu compare, con un grandiſſimo Allai d'altri gran Perſonaggi. Ma il Vizir co' gl' altri Baſhani del Banco non c'era.

When theſe Entertainments were over, they made the Proceſſion of the Dowry, and alſo another; but firſt went that of the Preſent which the Bridegroom made to his Miſtreſs. This was attended by the *Teſtardar*, who was the Father, and a mighty Train of great Men, but the Vizier, or any Baſhas of the Council, were not there.

Queſto Preſente conſiſteva di non ſo quanti Muli carricati di confectionarie, et poi non ſo quanti altri di diverſi Lavori di Zuccaro, formati in tutte le Maniere immaginabile; come di repreſentare Elefanti, Cameli, Leoni, e mille altri Specie d'Animali; come anco di Giardini con Alberi pieni di Frutti, tutti di Zuccaro. E per dir il vero, ſe bene nella Superſtitione Turcheſca viene prohibito il far ogni ſorte di Figura o Repreſentatione, poſſo pero credere chi di tutto queſto non fecero alcun Peccato, giache le Figure erano ſi rozze e malfatti che l'intentione del Maeſtro era poco volte incontrata.

This preſent conſiſted of I know not how many Mules loaden with Sweet-meats, and as many others charged with ſeveral ſorts of Sugar-works, made up in all Shapes imaginable, as to repreſent Elephants, Camels, Lions, and a thouſand other Animals; there were alſo Gardens with Trees full of Fruit all made of Sugar. And to ſay Truth, if, in the *Turkiſh* Religion, it had been prohibited to make any Image or the Likeneſs of any Thing, I ſhould yet believe that, in all this, they were guilty of no Sin; for the Figures were ſo rude and ill contrived, that the Deſign of the Artiſt was ſeldom diſcovered.

Doppo di queſti andavano molti Aga in piede portando ciaſcheduno nelle Braccie, certi panni di raſi, Robba d'Oro, e ſimili pur Veſti; e queſti conſiſtevano credo di 120 *Perſone portando* 5 *or* 6 *Veſti al-*

Then came ſeveral *Agas* afoot, each of them carrying in his Arms, Pieces of Sattin Cloth of Gold, and the like for Veſts; and theſe I believe were in Number one hundred and twenty Per-

meno

meno per Huomo. E doppo di queſti venivano le Gioie tutte portate aperte in moſtro al Mondo; la Valuta dalle quale era piu di 500,000 *Dollari Leoni. E doppo tutto era Teſtardar Baſha che come compare portava il Preſente alla Spoſa.*

Fra li Preſenti doveva dirvi di 12 *Carozze di Schiavi e qualche* 20 *Eunuchi che fra li altri erano ancora preſentati. Pochi Giorni doppo, menarono la Spoſa in Caſa del Marito; e cio fecero con grandiſſima Pompa, eſſendovi preſente il Vizir Azem con tutti li Grandi e loro Corte. Avanti la Spoſa era portata la Nacul in iſteſſa Maniera che erano avanti il Principe, quando fece la ſua Proceſſione prima che foſſe circonciſo, che percio non occurre di diſcriverlo novamente. La Spoſa fu Condotta in Carozza da ſei; li Fornimenti di Cavalli erano ſuperbiſſimi, e la Carozza era tutta fatta di Piaſterè d'Argento. Avanti la Carozza andavano molti Eunuchi, e due ancora per Banda. Era ſequitata da piu da* 30 *Carozze, che dicono foſſer' tutte ſue Schiavi, havendo anche ogni Carozza* 2 *Eunuchi d'avanti, et uno per fianco.*

E coſi fini la Proceſſione eſſendo ſtati pur Retroguardia qualche Denzine de Cameli con i Muſici, e loro Stromenti, di Strepito che

ſons carrying each five or ſix Veſts, apiece at leaſt. Then came on the Jewels carried open, and ſhewed to all People, the Value of which was about five hundred thouſand *Lion* Dollars. and after all came the *Teſtardar* Baſha, who, as Father, conducted the Preſents to the Bride.

Among the Preſents I muſt not omit to tell you of twelve Coaches full of Slaves, and about twenty Eunuchs, which, with the reſt, were alſo preſented. A few Days after, they carried the Bride to the Houſe of her Huſband; and this was done with the greateſt Pomp, there being preſent the Grand Vizier and all the Grandees with their Attendance. Before the Bride went the *Nacul*, in the ſame Manner as they were born before the Prince at the Proceſſion of him before his Circumciſion, ſo I need not make a new Deſcription of them. The Bride was conveyed in a Coach and ſix Horſes, the Furniture and Harneſs of the Horſes were moſt ſumptuous, and the Coach was all of Silver Plates. Before the Coach went many Eunuchs, and two on each Side; it was followed by thirty Coaches, which they ſay contained all her Slaves; thoſe had alſo, before each, two Eunuchs, and one on each Side.

So ended the Proceſſion, there following, by Way of a rear Guard, diverſe dozens of Camels loaden with Muſicians and their

fecero Rumore baſtante per ſtornare il Mondo. Poco doppo paſſarono molte altre Carozze con Dame di dentro (come ſi crede) et Eunuchi di fuora. Et in quelli diceſi foſſe la Regina Madre, e loro grandi della Corte, che andavano a veder la Spoſa in Caſa.

Inſtruments of Noiſe that ſounded loud enough to deafen all Mankind. A little while after followed diverſe other Coaches filled (as was gueſſed) with Ladies having Eunuchs without; and here, as they ſaid, was the Queen Mother and her Court, who went to viſit the Bride in her Houſe.

Adeſſo vedo haver' tralaſciato dirvi fra le ditte due Proceſſione, un altra che fu quella della Dote che il G. Sig^r. dava alla ſua Figlia, la quale conſiſteva di qualche Centinaia di muli Carriche di Maſſeritie di Caſa, con grandiſſima Quantita di Gioie Ricci nella medeſima Maniera nella quale ſi fece la Robba preſentata. Ma era di molto piu di Valore, dicono per il Doppio. Et ancora hebbe molte Carozze di Schiavi e loro Eunuchi tutti accompagnati dal, Vizir et altri Grandi della Corte.

Here I find I have omitted, among theſe two Proceſſions, to tell you of another which was of the Portion which the Grand Signor gave to his Daughter. It conſiſted of ſome hundreds of Mules laden with Houſe-furniture, and then a World of Jewels of Price in the ſame Manner as when the Preſents were conveyed; but theſe were of much greater Value, they ſay double at leaſt. And here alſo were diverſe Coaches full of Slaves and their Eunuchs, the Vizier and all the Grandees of the Court attending.

Adeſſo mi pare d'haver finito la Feſta che ſpeſſo maldicevamo per eſſere ſtate quelle la Cauſa della Tardanza noſtra: ma voi altri Pollachi, ſe non foſte un Man di Beſtie, dovevate lodar Iddio pur la buona Conjunctura, giache qual meglior Occaſione potevate deſiderare di Rihavervi a pigliar di nuovo Kaminetz con ſciacciare a fatto li Turchi da quella Parte che quel Tempo dove il G. Sig^r. e tutti i miniſtri grandi di queſt' Imperio erano impiegati

I think now I am come to an End of theſe Feſtivals which we have often curſed as being the Cauſe of our Stay here. But for you *Polanders*, if ye had any more Wit than the Brutes, you ſhould have praiſed God for this happy Conjuncture; for what fairer Opportunity could you have deſired to profer itſelf for your Recovery of *Caminiec*, and driving the *Turks* out of thoſe Countries, than this Time when the Grand Signor, and all the great

impiegati in queſte Coglionarie? Ma vi ho detto che Coſa ſiate, il che non credo che negarete per haver perſo ſi buona Congiuntura che non haverete per molti Anni. Ma di gia vi doverete preparare pur Reſiſtenza all' unita Forza di tutta Turchia.

Officers of the Empire, were ſo buſily employed about this Trumpery? But I have told you what you are, and I ſcarce think you will contradict me, having loſt ſo good an Opportunity which you may not have again in many Years; but now it is the Work to prepare yourſelves to reſiſt the united Force of all *Turky*.

Non voglio finir queſta Letterina ſenza aviſarvi, che tra li noſtri maggior Patimenti, s'aggiongeva il peggiore, che era la Peſte. La quale, travagliando fieramente tutta la Citta, obligò ſua Excellenza, doppo 50 *Giorni della noſtra venuta qui, a retirarſi con tutta la Corte nel villagio di Cara Agate. E d'inde quaſi come ſi perſequitaſſe lo ſciacciò fuori nelle Prate dove ſtavamo nelle Padiglione.*

I ſhall not conclude this *petit* Letter without acquainting you, that among the reſt of our great Mortifications, one greater arrived, which was the Plague. For that, marching fiercely thro' all the City, obliged his Excellency, after fifty Days from our firſt coming, to remove with all his Attendance to the Village of *Caraagate*, and from thence, as if it perſecuted us, drove him out into the Fields where we abode in our Tents.

A me toccò d'eſſer ſempre nella Citta, che veramente non poteva ſfugire per una Coſa o per altra, però me ſi dava ſempre Prattica, e per piu Parte andavo a Cenna di ſua Excellenza.

It fell to my Share to be always in the City, which in Truth I could not avoid, for Buſineſs of one Sort or other required it. Care was taken to find me conſtant Employment, and for the moſt Part I went at the Will and Pleaſure of his Excellency.

Queſto Signore (che la Genti di queſto paeſe coſi chiama la Peſte, anzi voglino che tale era) quantumque furioſo, e noi pure in Numero di paſſa 120 *Perſone, giache noi ſcapavamo piu chi foſſe poſſibile, non ci arrivò mai alcuni delle ſue ferite, ma alla fine non contento di laſciarci rit-*

This Lord (for ſo the People of theſe Parts call the Plague, and they will have him to be ſo) furious as he was, and we being in Number above one hundred and twenty Perſons, having avoided Infection all that was poſſible, did not reach us with any of his Strokes; but at

tonare ſenza qualche Toccatina, colpi qualche due delli Servitori. Qual' Caſo, ſenza minimo Indugio (non parendo bene aſpettar altro) fu Cauſa che ſi diſallogiaſſimo non ſenza qualche diſordine. E ci fece penſare alla Partenza verſo la deſiderata Citta di Conſtantinopoli; che ſarà fra pochi Giorni, benche non ſaria ſequito, ſe non foſſe intervenuto tal' Accidente, e di la non mancherò di ſervirvi quello trovero di nuovo doppo un' abſenza di 5 Meſi, con che &c.

laſt, not content we ſhould eſcape without a Patt, he ſtruck down two of the Servants; which Accident, without the leaſt Heſitation (we not thinking fit to expect more) made us diſlodge, and not without ſome Diſorder, and alſo admoniſhed us to be gone towards our deſired City *Conſtantinople*; and that will be now in a few Days, but had not been thought of ſo ſoon if this Accident had not happened, and from thence I ſhall not fail to write you what Novelty I ſhall find after an Abſence of five Months.

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APPEN-

APPENDIX II.

IT may not be amiſs to ſet down what I found amongſt the Papers of this honourable Author, concerning the King's Sentiments and Behaviour at this Time, becauſe he had full Opportunity of knowing them. It is as follows. The Firmneſs of Sir *Dudley North*'s before the King was not reſented by his Majeſty in the leaſt, for ought as appeared then, or afterwards; ſo far was he from putting the Removal or any Affront upon him. And the like appeared in diverſe other Inſtances of this Cloſetting; for if Men did not ſet up to cenſure, or adviſe, but anſwered modeſtly; although it was poſitively againſt his Majeſty's Deſires, he did not think the worſe of them for it. But if they anſwered pertly and pragmatically, as ſhewing ſomewhat of Animoſity, or Party, he ſhewed ſome Marks of his Diſpleaſure. And it may be proper to declare farther what I might obſerve living in the midſt of theſe Affairs; which is that the King bitterly repented the parting with his loyal Parliament, and laboured hard to get another; and this Work about the Teſts, *&c.* grew faſtidious to him, having brought many Evils and Affronts upon him. But, his Party urging him ſo inceſſantly, he would not break with them upon it. He and they had very different Deſigns. He deſired of all Things to compaſs a fair Parliament, and I believe would have agreed with them in any Thing moderate: But they deſired to have no Parliament at all, and invented all theſe Machinations to diſguſt the Nation in ſo high a Degree, as really it did, that his Majeſty might ſee plainly that all Parliaments were become impracticable. And the Proceedings were ſo groſs, public, and univerſally urged upon the whole Nation, that no other Conſtruction could be made of it, unleſs it were right down Treachery, colluding with Foreigners to deſtroy him. And that might be in ſome ſort, but not in the general, nor in the Chancellor in particular; whoſe End I verily believe was to ſave his Bacon. He knew and could tell his Companions that the King was diſpuniſhable, and could deal with any Parliament; but his Miniſters were obnoxious, and would ſuffer, whatever elſe happened. No Wonder then they were ſo copious in Methods to have always this and that, and twenty Matters to diſpatch, before the Parliament was to be ſummoned.

There

There were egregious Marks of the King's urging againſt them for a Parliament; for he more than once publickly declared it to the Nation; and once the very Day; which latter Declaration they ſpoiled by fixing an Indulgence to it. The Committee of Regulations ſat uſually on *Saturdays*; and at one of thoſe Meetings the King came, and was told they had reſolved the next ſhould be a *Fanatic* Parliament, becauſe none elſe would anſwer his Majeſty's Ends, and therefore they moved him to forbid all his Servants, that were of the Church of *England*, to ſtand. At that, the King was in a great Paſſion, and declared he had always found thoſe Gentlemen to be his Friends, and he would never believe otherwiſe of them till he found it; and he ſhould rely upon them, and they ſhould all of them, that he could prevail for, be choſen. Accordingly Intimation was given to Sir *Dudley North*, and others, to prepare their Intereſts againſt the Writs. This Paſſage I was told by ſome that might know, and would not lye.

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THE

LIFE

Of the Honourable and Reverend

Dr. JOHN NORTH,

Maſter of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*

And *GREEK* PROFESSOR,

PREBEND of *WESTMINSTER*,

And ſometime Clerk of the Cloſet to his MAJESTY

KING *CHARLES* the Second.



DR. JOHN MORE'S LIFE

THE

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KING *CHARLES* the Second.

MY Deſign in theſe Papers is to frame a ſhort Hiſtory of the Life of an honourable Perſon, ſome time ſince deceaſed, and to repreſent his Character as near to Truth as my Stock of Materials will enable me. Works of this kind may be uſeful to ſuch as had rather profit by the Example of others, than apply any Invention, or Induſtry, of their own, towards a moral Improvement; or, it may be, to wear away ſome heavy Hours in reading. As for the Importance of the preſent Subject, I ſhall hang out no Buſh, but ſubmit to the Peruſer the Determination, whether there was need of ſuch a proverbial Signal, or not. Some have affected to write the Lives of Perſons long ſince dead and gone, and their Names preſerved only by ſome formal Remains, and (ever) dubious Traditions. So Painters copy from obſcure Draughts half obliterated, whereof no Member, much leſs the entire Reſemblance is to be found. But Fiction, ſupported upon ſeeming Probability, muſt fill up the Blanks,

Introduction, ſhewing the Deſign, and wherein recommendable.

and ſupply all Defects. In this manner ſome Lives have become re-divival, but with partial Views, tending, either to Panegyric, the Advance of ſome favourite Opinions, or factious Intrigues; which are fiercely purſued, while the Life-Scraps come out very thin and meagre. And, after great Length of Time, how ſhould it come off better? My Choice is of what the preſent Undertaking aims at, the Life of a Perſon * known to ſome yet living, and done by a cloſe Acquaintance and frequent Companion, who hath neither Inclination nor Temptation to court the Public, or flatter the Private.

To what End, and the Reaſons.

The moral Intent here is to do Juſtice to the Perſon, and Service to his Family; both which may reſult from the preſent Endeavour to retrieve his Character. And this is no ſlight Taſk, becauſe he took expreſs Care that nothing real ſhould remain, whereby, in After-Times, he might be remembered; and my Memory is now the Repoſitory of moſt that may be recovered of him. Therefore I think it not reaſonable for me to let ſuch an Ornament to his Family, and Example of Virtue, be wholly forgot and loſt; or perhaps his Name only remain, and that confined to a *petit* Cycle in ſome muſty Genealogy; and ſcarce that, ſince the Honour, nay the Continuance, of Families ſeems to be ſlighted and unregarded, and ſince Titles and Eſtates ſeldom continue in the ſame Line above three Generations; which makes Pedigrees good for little but to maintain Titles to Lands and Tenements at Law; and the Remembrance of Perſons and Families good for nothing at all. But yet it is hoped the Defection is not ſo great, but ſome Families will remain who would not have any thing valuable of their Lineage forgot; and others, who are unconcerned, may be glad to know Examples, whether of Good or Bad, one for Choice, and the other for Averſion; I hope I need not ſay which. But theſe Conſiderations have pinned me down to the Work; and I ſee no Means I can have, with Decency, to eſcape.

Times wanted, the Style familiar.

It hath not been in my Power to gather up the preciſe Times of all the Paſſages of this Life, which I have mentioned; and for that Reaſon I could not write it chronologically as I deſired. But conſidering that here is little or nothing of the Public, or States Matters, which may ever require a nice Retroſpection, I choſe to proceed in a Style of familiar Converſation, and as one engaged to anſwer ſuch Queſtions concerning our Doctor, as may be obviouſly demanded. I ſaid our Doctor; for, to ſave often writing a few Syllables, I ſhall treat him under that Title, although uſurped, until Forms procure us a better Warrant. And as to the Style aimed at here, I intend it not

* This muſt be underſtood of the Time when the Author wrote.

polite;

polite; if it be ſignificant, it is well. It is hoped that the Want of a formal Diſtribution and Subdiviſion of Matters by Book, Chapter, and Sect. will not be wanted here. The marginal Numbers may be equivalent to Titles of Chapters; and then the Series may be continual, after the Model of the *Dutch Le Clerc* in his *Parraſiana*, whom (any more than the *Engliſh* Dr. *Clarke*) I would not follow in any thing but Philology.

His Parentele and Relation.

Dr. *John North* was the fifth of ſeven Sons of the Right Honourable Sir *Dudley North*, Knight of the *Bath*, Lord *North* Baron of *Kirtling*, and *Anne* one of the Daughters and Coheirs of Sir *Charles Mountagu*, a younger Brother of the *Boughton* Family. He was born at *London*, *September* 4, 1645, and had diverſe Brothers and Siſters, elder and younger; of whom, with the reſt of his Relation, which was widely extended among the chief of the Nobility, a particular Account is not here required; and thus much is mentioned only to ſhew what, in the following Account of his Life, will be confirmed; *viz.* that the juſt Value of an honourable Deſcent, received no Diminution by his Character.

Temperature of Body and Mind.

When he was very young, and alſo as he grew up, he was of a nice and tender Conſtitution, not ſo vigorous and athletic as moſt of his Brothers were. His Temper was always reſerved and ſtudious; for which Reaſon his noble Parents deſigned him early for the Church: And the rather, becauſe they obſerved him not inclined to thoſe puerile Irregularities, to which Boys are ordinarily propenſe; but, with an unuſual Reſpect, he reſigned himſelf entirely to the Order of his Parents, and particularly in their profeſſionary Diſpoſition of him; and even at School, as well as at home, he behaved himſelf accordingly. If any thing ſo early ſeemed amiſs in him, it was a non-natural Gravity which, in Youths, is ſeldom a good Sign; for it argues Imbecillity of Body and Mind, or both; but his lay wholly in the former, for his mental Capacity was vigorous, as none more.

Paſt *Bury* School under a loyal Maſter in the worſt Times.

His ſcholaſtic Education was altogether at *St. Edmund's Bury* in *Suffolk*, under Dr. *Stephens*, then Maſter of an eminent School there. It was a piece of good Fortune to be no forwarder; for his Reſidence there fell in the Dregs of Time, when, after the Martyrdom of King *Charles* I. a *Babel* of miſhapen Powers tormented the People of *England*, until the happy Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. to the Crown, and the Nation to their Laws: A fit Time for a monaſtic Retirement! The Maſter was Pedant enough, and noted for high Flights in Poetry and Criticiſm, and what we now call jingling, not a little derived from the laſt Age. All which Qualities were not amiſs in his Employment. The worſt of him was, what his Cor-

pulence declared, the being a wet Epicure, the common Vice of bookiſh Profeſſions. We paſs by his Partialities (which were indeed ſcandalous, and pernicious to many of his Scholars) becauſe they happened to turn in favour of our Doctor; for his Maſter was exceedingly fond and proud of him. One Happineſs was, that he was a noted *Cavalier*, then, the Title of the King's Friends, in Oppoſition to the Rebels, who, from a preciſe Cut they affected, were ſtyled *Roundheads*. In the worſt of thoſe Times, the Maſter, in his Family, uſed the Forms of Loyalty and Orthodoxy; but, being reputed little better than a Malignant, he was forced to uſe outwardly an occaſional Conformity, by obſerving the Church Duties, and Days of ſuper-hypocritical Faſtings and Seekings, wherewith the People, in thoſe Days, were tormented, though now worn out of almoſt all Credibility; and he walked to Church after his Brigade of Boys, there to endure the Infliction of diverſe Holders-forth, tiring themſelves and every body elſe: And by theſe means he made a ſhift to hold his School. It happened that, in the Dawning of the Reſtauration, the Cancre of the Times mitigated; and one Dr. *Boldero*, formerly a Captain in *Scotland* under *Montroſs*, and, between the Ladder and the Rope, had narrowly eſcaped hanging, now in epiſcopal Orders, kept a Church of *England* Conventicle in *Bury*, uſing the Common-Prayer; and our Maſter often went to his Congregation, and ordinarily took ſome of his Boarders with him, of whom our Doctor was, for the moſt part, one.

Parentele affects Manners more than Education. The Doctor had both good.

There may be ſome Doubt whether the Genius of an Education hath that mighty Influence upon the Conduct and Morals of a future Life, as commonly is reputed; for we ſee daily young People coming up in a Strain directly oppoſite to the Opinions and Uſages of their Families. But yet it is to be accounted a Felicity to enter the World in the right Way, eſpecially in a political Senſe; for Party runs in Families more than Virtue or good Manners: For Strength of Mind may get the better of all Prejudices, and even of, that which is the ſtrongeſt, Education. And I have reflected, that if our Doctor (as I yet preſume to ſtyle him) had been bred in the horrid Din of Exclamation againſt Prelacy, Arminianiſm, and Popery, as the Mode of thoſe Times rang, he had ſuch Strength of Reaſon, and Bias towards Truth that, in his riper Years, he could not have been a Fanatic, whereof the Compoſition was Croſs-grainedneſs, Ambition, and Malice. But herein I muſt diſtinguiſh Parentele from Education; for the latter affects chiefly thoſe who are lazy in thinking, and, coming to Man's Eſtate, are glad to be determined any Way, rather than endure the Fatigue of a ſerious Deliberation. But from Parentele are derived a depraved Will, Inclination to Evil, and Manners

ners every Way corrupt; which made a venerable Gentleman, the honourable Mr. *Henry Grey*, uſe (in his particular Phraſe) to ſay often *By G—d's iff, ware a Breed.* Herein our Doctor appears to have had a double Felicity, a righteous Education, and Parents of juſt and honourable Principles, if any ſuch ever were.

His Picture in the Cavalier Habit drawn by Mr. *Blemwell.*

After the happy Reſtauration, and while our Doctor was yet at School, the Maſter took Occaſion to publiſh his Cavalierſhip by all the Ways he could contrive; and one was putting all the Boarders, who were of the chief Families in the Country, into red Cloaks, becauſe the Cavaliers about the Court uſually wore ſuch; and Scarlet was commonly called the King's Colour. Of theſe he had near thirty to parade before him, through that obſerving Town, to Church; which made no vulgar Appearance. It fell out that, about that Time, one Mr. *Blemwell*, a Picture-Drawer, reſided at *Bury*. He was an early Friend and Acquaintance of Sir *Peter Lely*, who alſo ſpent ſome Time at Gentlemens Houſes thereabouts. Mr. *Blemwell* was allowed of by *Lely* to have had a very good Judgment in the Art of Picture, but his Performances were not equal to his Skill. He was a civil and well-bred Gentleman, very well accepted and employed in the Town and Neighbourhood; and, among others, he drew our Doctor in his red Cloak juſt as he wore it. And I cannot but appeal to this Pourtrait, now in my Cuſtody, for Demonſtration of what I have alledged concerning his grave Diſpoſition. The Countenance is modeſt and compoſed, copied from pure Nature, wherein nothing is owing to the Painter, for it was very like him. This little Picture is the more to be eſteemed, becauſe there is no other; for he could never afterwards be prevailed upon to admit any to be made of him, as, in the Courſe of this Work, will be obſerved.

An amiable Gravity, and Countenance always florid.

He was much taken notice of for his amiable Gravity; and after he grew up to Man's Eſtate, he retained a florid Youthfulneſs in his Countenance, of which more will be obſerved afterwards. In the mean time, this ſhort Relation may ſerve to interpret the bizarr Poſture and Habit expreſſed in that Picture. I may remember, for the Credit of that Scarlet Troop, and their ſcholaſtic Education, that not above one, or two, of the whole Company, after they came to act in their Country Miniſtrations, proved Anti-monarchic, or Fanatic. The Effect of which good Inclination towards the Perſon and Government of King *Charles* II. during the greateſt Diſorders in his Reign, appeared in a celebrated Union of the *Suffolk* Gentry in Oppoſition to the Rage of an impetuous Republican Faction flagrant in that Country. The State of which Strivings are repreſented in the *Examen*, where it was requiſite this Myſtery ſhould be unfolded, in order

order to reſolve the famous Law Caſe between *Soams* and *Bernardiſton*.

A perfect School Scholar; and of the Diſcipline.

To return to our Doctor; I need not ſtay to exaggerate his Steps of Proficiency in Learning. It is enough to alledge that he was an accompliſhed Scholar, which the Forwardneſs of his Advancement afterwards demonſtrated. It could ſcarce fall out otherwiſe with him, having good Parts, and having ran through the whole Courſe of a large School, always diligently applied, and little diverted by Play, as moſt of his Age uſe to exceed in. And the Methods of the School were no ſlight Advantage; for the Maſter required all his Scholars to fill a Quarter of a Sheet of Paper with their *Latin* Themes, and write the *Engliſh* on the oppoſite Page. At the preſenting them, a Deſk was ſet in the middle of the School, where the Boy ſtood and rehearſed his Theme in *Latin*, or *Engliſh*, as was required: And at this Act, a Form or two of Boys were called for up from the lower End, and placed by Way of Audience; and the Maſter had Opportunity to correct Faults of any kind, Pronunciation as well as Compoſition. This Diſcipline, uſed generally in free Schools, might prevent an Obloquy; as when it is ſaid that, in the grand Aſſemblies for *Engliſh* Affairs, there are found many Talkers, but very few Speakers.

Before he went to *Cambridge*, his noble Father read Logic and Metaphyſics to him.

After the Doctor left *Bury* School, he paſſed ſome Time at his Father's Houſe before he went to the Univerſity; which Time was not loſt, for his Father, (according to the Way he uſed with ſome other of his Sons) read and interpreted to him a common Logic, I think it was *Molineus*, with ſomewhat of Metaphyſics. This was ſome Eaſe at his firſt Entrance into the College; for many take ſuch a Diſtaſte at what ſeems to them at firſt a mere Rattle of Words, that they are very ſlowly, if ever, reconciled: As the Scholar, that could not conquer the Senſe of homogene and heterogene, declared, *If he were once at home again, he would never come hither again.* I ought not here to let paſs the Care and Capacity of a Nobleman who performed the Office of an Academic Tutor to his Sons, in order to eaſe their firſt Undertakings at the Univerſity; of which there are not many Examples.

Sent to *Cambridge* as Fellow-Commoner in *Jeſus College*, then Nobleman.

At length, in the Year 1661, our Doctor was ſent to *Cambridge*, and planted in *Jeſus College*, under the Tutorage of Dr. *Cook*. At that Time, Dr. *Ferne* was Vice-Chancellor, and our Liturgy *Non-Con*, Dr. *Boldero*, Maſter of *Jeſus*; with whom a previous Acquaintance at *Bury* (of Dr. *Stephens* at leaſt) might be the Inducement of his being placed there. He was admitted a Fellow-Commoner. But when his Grandfather, the firſt *Dudley* Lord *North*, died, whereby the

the Barony deſcended upon his Father, he left the Poſt of a Fellow-Commoner, and aſſumed that of a Nobleman. But notwithſtanding that, he was diligent in his Studies, kept Chapel, and in Perſon performed moſt of his Exerciſes as were conſiſtent with his Station in the College. His Quality aſſured to him many Advantages, eſpecially in the Way of Preferment in the Church. A Maſter of Arts of that College uſed to ſay, that he would give all he was worth to be a Lord's Son; meaning that ſuch a one of ordinary Learning and Morality, could not eſcape being, early or late, well preferred. This was no ſmall Encouragement to our Doctor, who thought it an Inſtance of his good Fortune that his Father outlived his Grandfather; otherwiſe the Advantage of Precedence, *&c.* had come ſhort of him.

Directed his Studies for Church Preferments.

Here the Doctor became ſettled in a ſevere Courſe of Study, which he purſued with all the Ardor of one that knew nothing but his Learning could make him conſiderable, or indeed capable to ſubſiſt as he deſired; which the Poſture of his Family, as will be obſerved, made him moſt ſenſible of. We read of primitive Inducements to enter into Holy Orders, with open View of Poverty and Perſecution; but now the Caſe is altered; for the only Inducements are Plenty and Preferment: And ſince it is ſo, that the Church is ſought as a ſecular Employment, we are not to expect, nor do we find, more Rigour of Life and Practice in Eccleſiaſtics, than in other common Men who ſeek their Preferment in other Profeſſions. Therefore it is very unjuſt, under this Change of Motives, that the Cauſe of Religion ſhould in the leaſt ſuffer, or be ſcandaliſed by the Behaviour of particular Clergymen. It is certain our Doctor was embarked in that Veſſel; and as for his Behaviour in it, the reſt of his Life muſt ſhew. At preſent we will leave him to his Studies, and retreat a while to conſider his natural Temper and Propenſities; ſuch as, of one kind or other, all Men living have, and which came into the World with them, and are in their Power to alter no more than Complection or Stature.

His natural Infirmity was Timidity.

The Doctor's greateſt, or rather only, Infirmity was a natural Timidity, owing to a feeble Conſtitution of Body, inclining to the effeminate. This, under ſome Circumſtances, and without a Mind as vigorous and ſtrong as his Body was weak, might have oppreſſed him. He was always ſenſible of this Weakneſs, and, during the whole Courſe of his Life, laboured to conquer it, and, as to outward Appearance, prevailed; and what was inſuperable lay dormant within himſelf. One would have expected that a Youth at the Univerſity, no Freſhman, nor mean Scholar, ſhould have got the better of being afraid in the dark; but it was not ſo with him, for when he was in Bed

Bed alone, he durſt not truſt his Countenance above the Cloaths. For ſome time he lay with his Tutor, who once, coming home, found the Scholar in Bed with only his Crown viſible. The Tutor, indiſcretely enough, pulled him by the Hair; whereupon the Scholar ſunk down, and the Tutor followed, and at laſt, with a great Outcry, the Scholar ſprung up, expecting to ſee an enorm Spectre.

Experiment of his conquering himſelf.

Another Time, which was after he was Fellow of the College, in a Moon-ſhine Night, he ſaw one ſtanding in a white Sheet. He ſurveyed it with all his Optics, and was confirmed it was a Spirit (as they call it) and reſolved with himſelf, if he could, to find out what it came for. He got out of his Bed, and being ſtill of the ſame Opinion, went nearer and nearer, till he might touch it; and then, reaching out his Hand, he perceived it was only his Towel, hung againſt the Wall, with the Moon ſhining full upon it; and then he went to Bed and ſlept well. I have heard him ſay, that he was ſatisfied the Devil could not diſcover any Man's Thoughts; elſe, he might ſhrewdly impoſe upon thoſe who were inclined, like him, to be in that Manner concerned. But it muſt be allowed that, in this Inſtance, his Strength of Mind got the better of his bodily Conſtitution, in forcing himſelf upon an Experiment few would have cared to have made. I mention not theſe Paſſages as of themſelves worth remembering, but to ſhew that, as in the Caſe of our Doctor, a vigorous, active Spirit may be quartered in a ſlight and feeble Machine of Fleſh. But this propenſe Diſpoſition to Fear had a worſe Effect upon his Spirits when applied to the Conſequences of his Life; and, not only ſullied his Character by making him ſeem avaritious, but even ſhortened his Days, as, by the following Relation, will be made appear.

His moral Reſolutions, and ſtrict Conduct of his ſmall Revenues.

He had in his Nature a Principle of Juſtice and Duty inexpugnable; and was fortified with a Reſolution not to run in Debt, nor to help himſelf by any wicked Compliances, whatever otherwiſe became of him. And while he was at the College, he juſt ſhifted with a ſmall Exhibition from his Family; and if it had been leſs (according to his ſtrict Oeconomy) he had ſtill ſhifted; and more he did not expect, knowing that the hereditary Honour muſt devour the Fat of the Land. And as to future Preferments, nothing more uncertain. All his Hopes hung upon mutable Intereſts; and he found in himſelf but little Inclination to Courtſhip and Flatteries for Favours. His Sheet Anchor was the Life of his Life, a dear Brother and Friend, who might drop from him. He had an Ambition to be Maſter of a good Library, but ſcarce hoped ever to obtain it; and when he became able to make a ſmall Purchaſe of Books, he was ſo far happy, and in himſelf pleaſed, that his Management ſucceeded

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ſo well; which created in him a ſort of Joy in a Perſeverance, even after the juſt Cauſe, by his being better provided for, ceaſed.

Succeſsful Care turns to Pleaſure habitual.

It is certain that ſtudious and thoughtful Men, having an honeſt Principle, are apt over critically to weigh the Contingencies of Life, and Poſſibilities of Good or Evil that may concern them; and as Fears are always much ſtronger than Hopes, commonly expect the worſt; and that inclines them to act ſo as they think may beſt ſecure them; and in that Courſe pleaſe themſelves ſo long that, after all Cauſe of Fear removed, they continue the ſame Caution, which becomes an habitual Pleaſure to them and, towards old Age, when Wants are leaſt, engenders a Vice called Covetouſneſs; and the rather becauſe that doth not contravene their Principle of Juſtice and Honeſty, according to the Sentence of an old Uſurer that uſed to ſay *ſaving was the lawfulleſt Way of becoming rich.*

The Doctor's Cares continued after the Cauſe ceaſed.

This was literally the Caſe of our Doctor, who, by the Eaſe he found in his Mind out of a careful and ſaving Courſe of Life while it was moſt reaſonable, could not forbear a hankering after the ſame Way even when he was preferred to his Heart's Content, and thereby the former Reaſon ceaſed; for ſo the Mind is, as it were, habitually gratified. But how well he conquered himſelf in that, as in all other Inſtances of Inclination contrary to right Reaſon and the Decorum of his Eſtate, ſuch as all Men muſt have more or leſs, the following Account muſt determine. In the mean Time, to demonſtrate how obnoxious learned Men are to theſe Impotencies, I may remember the famous Dr. *Cave*, and Dr. *Beaumont*, Men of gigantic Knowledge, yet, having roſe from ſmall Beginnings, under the ſame Paſſion towards Encreaſe, and their Fame not much impeached thereby.

Made Fellow of *Jeſus College* much to his Content.

But now, to recover our Doctor, we find him at *Jeſus College* ſettled in a Fellowſhip, which he procured not long after he was capable. I find the Entry thus, *Admiſſus eſt ſocius Coll. Jeſ. Mandato & Literis Regiis* 28 Sept. 1666, when he was about ſix Years ſtanding in the College. That Society is divided into North and South, and the Order is to elect two into each Vacancy either North or South, as it may happen, to be preſented to the Biſhop of *Ely* who makes which he pleaſes Fellow. The Doctor came in the Place of a Northern Man; and the Biſhop (then *Wren)* made an odd Interpretation; for *it's ſtrange*, ſaid he, *that Mr.* North *ſhould be looked upon as a Northern Man who had nothing North about him but his Name.* Whether his Lordſhip intended a Compliment to the Country, or to the Scholar, is no profound Queſtion. This Advancement was a great Relief to the Doctor's Mind; for thereby he had a ſort of Home, with no ſmall Advantage in his Oeconomy, and all entirely conſiſtent with his Deſign of Study, which he purſued with a full Application.

His Desire of a good Library and his Advances that Way.

Now he began to look after Books, and to lay the Foundation of a competent Library. He dealt with Mr. *Robert Scot* of *Little Britain*, whose Sister was his Grandmother's Woman; and, upon that Acquaintance he expected, and really had from him useful Information of Books and the Editions. This Mr. *Scot* was, in his Time, the greatest Librarian in *Europe*; for besides his Stock in *England*, he had Warehouses at *Francfort*, *Paris*, and other Places, and dealt by Factors. After he was grown old and much worn by Multiplicity of Business, he began to think of his Ease and to leave off. Whereupon he contracted with one *Mills* of St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard near 10,000*l.* deep, and articled not to open his Shop any more. But *Mills*, with his Auctioneering, Atlasses, and Projects, failed, whereby poor *Scot* lost above half his Means. But he held to his Contract of not opening his Shop, and, when he was in *London*, for he had a Country House, passed most of his Time at his House amongst the rest of his Books; and his Reading (for he was no mean Scholar) was the chief Entertainment of his Time. He was not only an expert Booksseller, but a very conscientious good Man; and when he threw up his Trade, *Europe* had no small Loss of him. Our Doctor, at one Lift, bought of him an whole Set of *Greek* Classics in Folio, of the best Editions. This sunk his Stock at that Time; but afterwards, for many Years of his Life, all that he could (as they say) rap or run went the same Way. But the Progress was small; for such a Library as he desired, compared with what the Pittance of his Stock would purchase, allowing many Years to the gathering, was of desperate Expectation.

His Opinion of Books in general.

He was early sensible of a great Disadvantage to him in his Studies, by the not having a good Library in his Reach; and he used to say that a Man could not be a Scholar at the second Hand: Meaning that Learning is to be had from the original Authors, and not from any Quotations, or Accounts in other Books; for Men gather with diverse Views, and according to their several Capacities, often perfunctorily, and almost always imperfectly: And through such slight reading, a Student may know somewhat, but not judge of either Author or Subject. He used to say an old Author could not be unprofitable; for although in their proper Time they had little or no Esteem, yet, in after Times, they served to interpret Words, Customs, and other Matters found obscure in other Books; of which *A. Gellius* is an apt Instance. He courted, as a fond Lover, all best Editions, fairest Characters, best bound and preserved. If the Subject was in his Favour (as the Classics) he cared not how many of them he had, even of the same Edition, if he thought it among the best, either better bound, squarer cut, neater Covers, or some such Qualification caught him. He delighted in the small Editions of the Classics by *Seb. Gryphius*; and

and diverſe of his Acquaintance, meeting with any of them, bought and brought them to him; which he accepted as choice Preſents, although perhaps he had one or two of them before. He ſaid that the black *Italic* Character agreed with his Eye Sight (which he accounted but weak) better than any other Print, the old *Elzevir* not excepted, whereof the Characters ſeemed to him more blind and confuſed than thoſe of the other. Continual Uſe gives Men a Judgment of Things comparatively; and they come to fix on what is moſt proper and eaſy; which no Man, upon curſory View, would determine.

His Induſtry in collecting Latin.

His Soul was never ſo ſtaked down as in an old Bookſeller's Shop; for having (as the Statutes of the College required) taken Orders, he was reſtleſs till he had compaſſed ſome of that Sort of Furniture, as he thought neceſſary for his Profeſſion. He was, for the moſt Part, his own Factor, and ſeldom or never bought by Commiſſion; which made him loſe Time in turning over vaſt Numbers of Books; and he was very hardly pleaſed at laſt. I have born him Company at Shops for Hours together, and, minding him of the Time, he hath made a dozen Profers before he would quit. By this Care and Induſtry, at Length he made himſelf Maſter of a very conſiderable Library, wherein the choiceſt Collection was *Greek*.

Alterations for worſe in the Bookſelling Trade.

It may not be amiſs to ſtep a little aſide to reflect on the vaſt Change in the Trade of Books, between that Time and ours. Then *Little Britain* was a plentiful and perpetual Emporium of learned Authors; and Men went thither as to a Market. This drew to the Place a mighty Trade; the rather becauſe the Shops were ſpacious, and the learned gladly reſorted to them, where they ſeldom failed to meet with agreeable Converſation. And the Bookſellers themſelves were knowing and converſible Men, with whom, for the ſake of bookiſh Knowledge, the greateſt Wits were pleaſed to converſe. And we may judge the Time as well ſpent there, as (in latter Days) either in Tavern or Coffee-houſe; though the latter hath carried off the ſpare Hours of moſt People. But now this Emporium is vaniſhed, and the Trade contracted into the Hands of two or three Perſons, who, to make good their Monopoly, ranſack, not only their Neighbours of the Trade that are ſcattered about Town, but all over *England*, aye and beyond Sea too, and ſend abroad their Circulators, and in that Manner get into their Hands all that is valuable. The reſt of the Trade are content to take their Refuſe, with which, and the freſh Scum of the Preſs, they furniſh one Side of a Shop, which ſerves for the Sign of a Bookſeller, rather than a real one; but, inſtead of ſelling, deal as Factors and procure what the Country Divines and Gentry ſend for; of whom each hath his Book Factor, and, when wanting any Thing, writes to his Bookſeller, and pays his

Bill. And it is wretched to conſider what pickpocket Work, with Help of the Preſs, theſe Demi-Bookſellers make. They crack their Brains to find out ſelling Subjects, and keep Hirelings in Garrets, at hard Meat, to write and correct by the Great; and ſo puff up an Octavo to a ſufficient Thickneſs, and there's ſix Shillings current for an Hour and an half's reading, and perhaps never to be read or looked upon after. One, that would go higher, muſt take his Fortune at blank Walls, and Corners of Streets, or repair to the Sign of *Bateman*, *Innys*, and one or two more, where are beſt Choice and better Pennyworths. I might touch other Abuſes, as bad Paper, incorrect printing, and falſe advertiſing; all which and worſe is to be expected, if a careful Author is not at the Heels of them. But I fear I am led by theſe too far out of my Way.

Read through, noted, but not common-placed his Authors.

I return therefore to our Doctor, who, in his Studies, was very regular, and took his Authors one after another, and purſued effectually through them, not leaving behind any Paſſage which he did not underſtand, or at leaſt criticiſe upon as far as he could reach. He noted as he went along, but not in the common Way by Common-place; but every Book ſeverally, ſetting down whatever he found worthy to be obſerved in that Book. And theſe he kept by themſelves, as Comments upon his Authors, till he had a conſiderable Body of them: But they are all confounded by a deplorable Sentence, of which I ſhall give an Account afterwards.

Applied to the Tongues, and loſt no Time.

Greek became almoſt vernacular to him, and he took no ſmall Pains to make himſelf Maſter of the *Hebrew* Language, and ſeldom failed carrying an *Hebrew* Bible (but pointed) to Chapel with him. He was a notable Huſband of his Time, and contrived to make his very Scraps, and intercalary Minutes, profitable; and accordingly, during thoſe ſhort Intervals between dreſſing and Dinner, and ſuch like Attendances, when he could not engage in the Texture of his Study, he uſed to get the beſt penned *Engliſh* Books, and read them aloud; which he ſaid he did to form and improve his *Engliſh* Style and Pronunciation. And on ſuch Occaſions he uſed to ſay, *it was Pity to loſe any of his Time.* And for the Advantage of his Latin, he uſed to keep his Accounts in that Language, and as near the Claſſic as he could.

Made Society inſtructive.

He had a very reſearching Spirit, that would not reſt, even in ordinary Company and Converſation; for with ſuch as ſtudied he never failed to aſk, or propoſe, ſome Points of Literature; and then, by throwing out his own Sentiments, fiſh for the Reaſons and Opinions of the Company; and thereby, perhaps, found Occaſion to correct himſelf as to ſome Overſights, or Miſtakes he had been guilty of. In ſhort; there was not an Opportunity that fell in his Way, whereby he might improve himſelf, which he willingly let ſlip. And

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all this derived from a native good Senſe: He had No-body at his Heels to urge him forward. His Tutor was paſſive, and the Scholar ſoon fell to ſhift for himſelf as a Bird that had learnt to pick alone, and, having taſted the Fruit of Knowledge, purſued it with an uninterrupted Perſeverance.

Empty Diſcourſe and Paſtime not to his Taſte.

And ſomewhat leſs of that might have been better for him. He kept himſelf bent with perpetual Thinking and Study, which manifeſtly impaired his Health. Even Converſation, which relieved others, was to him an Incentive of Thought. He was ſenſible of this, but did not affect any Expedients of Relief to his Mind. I have heard him ſay that he believed if Sir *Iſaac Newton* had not wrought with his Hands in making Experiments, he had killed himſelf with Study. A Man may ſo engage his Mind as almoſt to forget he hath a Body which muſt be waited upon and ſerved: The Doctor could overlook in himſelf what plainly appeared to him in others. After Dinners and in Evenings, he kept Company with the Fellows and Fellow Commoners in the Garden; but not long, for he could not be pleaſed with ſuch inſipid Paſtime as Bowls, or leſs material Diſcourſe, ſuch as Town Tales, or Punning, and the Like.

Attempted Muſick upon the Organ, but failed.

The Doctor had no favourite Diverſion, or manual Exerciſe, to reſt his Mind a little, which he held bent with continual thinking. His Parents, who were much addicted to Muſick, recommended that to him for a Diverſion, and particularly the noble Organ, as the fulleſt, and not only a compleat ſolitary Conſort, but moſt proper for an Eccleſiaſtic. And indeed, if Study had not had the upper Hand of all his Intendments, he muſt of Courſe have taken up in that Way, his Parents themſelves being ſo fond of it. For after the Care of Prayers and Meals, nothing was more conſtant and ſolemn than Muſick was in that Family. He was ſenſible the Advice was very good, and accordingly got a ſmall Organ into his Chamber at *Jeſus College*, and ſuffered himſelf to be taught a Leſſon or two, which he practiſed over when he had a Mind to be unbent; but he made no Manner of Advance, and one Accident put him out of all Manner of Conceit of it. His under Neighbour was a moroſe and importune Maſter of Arts; and one Night the Doctor could not ſleep; and thought to fit himſelf for it by playing upon his Organ. The Bellows knocking on the Floor, and the Hum of the Pipes, made a ſtrange Din at Midnight, and the Gentleman below, that never heard it ſo before, could not tell what to make of it; but, at Length, he found it out to be his Neighbour's Organ. And thereupon, to retaliate this Night's Work, got out of his Bed, and, with his two Couple of Bowls, went to Bowls by himſelf. This made a much louder Noice than the Organ, and the Doctor was as much at a Loſs

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to know what that meant, but, ſuſpecting how the Caſe ſtood, he left off, and ſcarce ever touched his Organ after. The Pleaſure of Muſick is like that of Books, never true and good, unleſs eaſily and familiarly read, and performed; and then nothing is more medicinal to a crazy and fatigued Mind than that.

Diverted himſelf with feeding Spiders in great Glaſſes.

The Doctor had found out one petit Entertainment in his Study beſides Books; and that was keeping of great Houſe Spiders in wide mouthed Glaſſes, ſuch as Men keep Tobacco in. When he had them ſafe in Hold, he ſupplied them with Crumbs of Bread, which they ate rather than ſtarve: But their Regale was Flies, which he ſometimes caught and put to them. When their Impriſonment appeared inevitable, they fell to their Trade of making Webs, and made large Expanſions and more private Receſſes. It pleaſed him to obſerve the Animals manage their Intereſt in the great Work of taking their Prey. If it was a ſmall Fly given them, no more Ceremony but take and eat him; but if a great Maſter Fleſh Fly, then to work, twenty Courſes round, and perhaps not come near him, for he had Claws ſharp as Cats; and, after diverſe Starts to and fro, a Web was with an hind Leg dexterouſly clapt over two or three of his Legs. After all his Claws were in that Manner ſecured, then, at a running Pull, a broad Web was brought over him, which bound him Hand and Foot; and, by being fixed to the Spider's Tail, the Fly was carried off into one of his inmoſt Receſſes, there to be feaſted upon at Leiſure.

Their Courſe of Life, and caſting their Skin,

Spiders, like other Creatures of Prey, eat one another, and, for their continual Deſign of eating, are paid by a continual Dread of being eaten. Two old Spiders will not be kept in one Glaſs, unleſs accidentally known to each other, or, it may be, Male and Female; but to work they go, courſing about till the one hath got the better of the other, and then falls too, and heartily feeds upon him. They breed numerouſly; and the young ones, after the Example of their Fathers, uſe the ſame Trade. The Danger, as well as Fear, is common to all. There is little Regard to Relation or Families; and for that Reaſon, like Pikes in a Pond, none ever takes a Prey, but he turns ſuddenly round, leſt another ſhould take him. When the Young are hatch'd, and can run about, they lie ſtill, waiting for Advantages over the reſt, and care not raſhly to expoſe themſelves. If they are diſturbed, and ſome made to run, the whole Nation is alarmed, and many a Life falls in the Diſorder before the Wars ceaſe; and then each, that ſurvives, makes merry with his Booty. Thus their Numbers are reduced to a very few, who find Means of retreating into Caſtles of their own making. They caſt their Skins at certain Periods; and the Manner of doing it is remarkable. They hang themſelves to the Cieling of their Web, with their Body downwards,

and

and, holding themſelves faſt up by all their Legs brought together, remain ſtriving and pulling each Leg, till it comes out of the Hoſe, and their Body is freed from it's Caſe; and then they turn and run away, leaving their old Coat in their Place; as we often ſee them hanging in Cobwebs. The Signal to them, of this Change coming on, is a dry parting of the Skin upon their Backs; whereupon they fall to work as was deſcribed. The Doctor uſed to divert us with deſcribing the Courſe of Life which his poor Priſoners led.

Witty in Company, but rigidly ſober.

When the Doctor was abroad, and abſent from his Studies, either by Viſits, friendly Meetings, or Attendances, his chief Delight was in Diſcourſe. And he would apply himſelf to all Sorts of Company in a briſk and ſmart Manner; for he was very juſt and ready in his Speech, facetious and fluent; and his Wit was never at a Nonplus. I have known him at Act keeping Suppers as merry as the beſt, and though he drank little, or Nothing, he ſparkled and repartied, not only ſaving himſelf harmleſs (for the ſober Man is commonly the Mark) but returning the Bite. His Sobriety was ſo extraordinary that, with entire Aſſurance I can affirm that never in all his Life did he know what a Cup too much (as they term it) was. And this Continence was more ſingular in him who was really a Wit in Converſation, and his Company deſired by all People that knew him; and it is well known how much ſuch Qualifications ſeduce Men to come under the Juriſdiction of the Bottle. But this Abſtemiouſneſs in Extremity proved of ill Conſequence to his Health, as will be ſhewed in fit Place.

Affected Conſeſſes with Foreigners and Virtuoſi.

When any eminent and extraordinary Perſons came to the Univerſity, of whom ſome had conſiderable Recommendations, and, for the better Knowledge of it, made ſome ſhort Reſidence there, and were by diverſe Gentlemen civilly entertained, whether *Swediſh* or *Hungarian* Clergy, *Oxonians*, or other homebred Virtuoſi; the Doctor very often, as he deſired, made one in the Converſation; whereby he thought to gather ſomewhat out of the common Road. And, being deſired, he often wrote, in the Pocket Book of a Foreigner, a Sentence with his Name; and that implies a ſmall Token, which I know well, being once induced by him to do the like. I remember one Mr. *Wagſtaff*, a little Gentleman, had an expreſs Audience, at a very good Dinner, upon the Subject of Spectres, and much was ſaid pro and con; but I carried away little except a good Meal. The Doctor often, upon ſuch Occaſions as theſe, took me along with him; which was much for my Advantage, if I had been capable of of making a true Uſe of it. But as for the Spectre Affair, it was not long before the Gentleman publiſhed his Notions in a little Book of Witchcraft.

At

Left the common Room, and paſt Evenings in private Society.

At length the Doctor declined the common Parlour, and ſpent the Evenings in private Society, ſometimes at Dr. *Shereman*'s the Preſident's, and not ſeldom with his old Maſter Dr. *Stephens*, who lived in the Houſe over againſt the College. This agreed beſt with his Humour, who did not love Moroſity and ſour Looks. He was always jocoſe and free in his ordinary Converſation; and that made him very popular with the aiery Folks, as young Gentlemen, and even with the fair Sex; for he was a comely Perſon, and withal very decently behaved, and reſpectful, which ſet off his Wit; and with that he always made them an agreeable Diverſion. Whatever his Company was, he was always ready with proper Diſcourſe, and, as I ſaid, no Niggard of it. If he moved Subjects that ſeemed ſlight, yet he had a Deſign at the Bottom, either to exerciſe ſome uſeful Talent of his own, or to ſqueeze ſomewhat uſeful out of others; and for that Reaſon he affected moſt the Acquaintance and Society of ſuch as were in Station and Learning his Superiors.

Affected the Society of the young Quality, and why.

Next to thoſe, he affected to refreſh himſelf with the Society of the young Noblemen and Fellow-Commoners; and he uſed to ſay that he found more of Candor and Sincerity in them than in the graver Sort. And for the like Reaſon he inclined to thoſe of the ancienter Families, though he owned that the better Parts were found with the latter. Sorting himſelf with theſe, he took great Delight to oppoſe their raw Wits with enigmatic Queſtions, and often out of the Claſſics. I have ſeen him as merry as a School Boy with a Knot of them, like the Younglings about old *Silenus*, in deep Conſult about reconciling that Paſſage in Ovid ——*ſine Pondere habentia Pondus.*

Among thoſe his Choice was nice.

He was more attached to thoſe who were noted for Study and Learning extraordinary, as Mr. *Wal——le*, Sir *Edm——d B——n*, &c. which latter was a ſtout and early Pretender to free-thinking. The Doctor uſed to pump him to fetch up his moſt reſerved Reaſonings, and uſed to ſay that he found ſuch Converſation profitable, becauſe it made him digeſt Matters in his own Mind more effectually than, not being oppoſed, he could have done. He was very intimate with Mr. *Hatton* a Fellow-Commoner, afterwards Sir *Chriſtopher*. He was of a merry and free Diſpoſition, and ſuited the Doctor's Humour exactly; the rather becauſe he found at the Bottom of him a ſound Judgment, and notable Cenſure of moſt Incidents; I might as well ſay Perſons. I have heard the Doctor ſay, that that Gentleman had more good Senſe and Underſtanding than many were able to diſcern.

Advanced his Acquaintance in *London*. His Sharpneſs upon the Ladies.

Theſe were his Univerſity Society; but, in and about *London*, he fell into more conſiderable and important Acquaintance: For when he gave himſelf the Satisfaction to reſide a little with his beſt Brother in *London*,

London, he was introduced (and a ſmall Inlet ſerved) to liſt him in a ſpacious Catalogue of Virtuoſi. As the *Capels* and *Godolphins*; firſt Mr. *Sidney Godolphin* of the Middle Temple, a very ingenious Perſon, and Maſter of an exquiſite Library, which to rummage was always a Feaſt to the Doctor. After the Death of this Gentleman, his Brother Mr. *Charles* ſucceeded him, as well in his Chamber and Library as, in the Doctor's Acquaintance; and continued in the ſame Chamber, until by the Fire moſt unfortunately begun over head, he was burnt out, and his choice Collection of Books conſumed. I ſhall venture to name one or two more; the firſt was Sir *John King*, who was a *Tully* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. Then Mr. *William Longueville*, in polite Knowledge, as well as Skill in the Law, inferior to none; and, what exceeds all, of untainted Integrity. And I might mention ſome Ladies with whom he pretended to be innocently merry and free; and indeed more ſo (often) than welcome; as when he touched the Pre-eminencies of their Sex. As, for Inſtance, ſaying that of all the Beaſts of the Field God Almighty thought Woman the fitteſt Companion for Man. I have known him demand of the Ladies at the upper End of the Table, by right of their ſitting there, that they would carve for him; *Elſe*, ſaid he, *let them come down to their Places at the lower End.* Theſe Paſſages, and the like, ſhew ſomewhat of his Humour, which made him very popular with the Ladies and young Company. For notwithſtanding all his Serioufneſs and Study, none ever was more agreeably talkative, in fit Company, than he was.

Meditated changing his College and why.

But whatever was the Cauſe, he had no Reliſh at all for the Converſation of his Fellow Collegiates; and they, I preſume, had as little for his. He might not conform in their Meaſures, or Methods of living; or there being a ſeeming Inequality betwixt them, by his Place in the Univerſity, and Advantages with Reſpect to Preferment; and his conſorting rather with the younger Gentlemen than the Grave, and, as he thought, perhaps, empty Seniors of the College, and affecting a ſelect Company of the learneder Sort in other Colleges: All theſe Ingredients turned ſour, and Jealouſies, Suſpicions, and Reflections, with moroſe Countenances, bred out of them; ſo that he deſired, if poſſible, without his great Inconvenience, to remove himſelf to ſome other College, where, as he propoſed, he might paſs his Time more agreeably.

Preferred by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to a Sinecure in *Wales*.

And in this he was gratified by the Fortune of a Preferment which fell to his Share. It was a Sine Cure in *Wales*, being a Moiety of the Tythes of *Llandinon*. He had the good Fortune to be capable of Preferment in the Church, when Dr. *Sheldon* was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. That Prelate was a Friend to Quality, but more to Scholarſhip and good Order, and could not overlook one come forward in the

Univerſity, and ſo well recommended as the Doctor was: And of his own Motion, without any Solicitation, or ſo much as Notice on the Doctor's Part, conferr'd this Sinecure upon him, and at the ſame Time declared that he choſe to give him that, rather than any other, Preferment; meaning ſuch as in Conſequence might have removed him out of his Station of Learning and Study in the Univerſity. And for the ſame Reaſon it was moſt ſuitable to the Doctor's own Inclinations; for it ſet him free, with a Power uncontroulable to ſettle himſelf in what Way he pleaſed.

His Behaviour in Concerns more public.

I have hitherto dealt enough with the ſlighter Circumſtances of our Doctor's Character. But we muſt now advance to Affairs of greater Importance. As to the public, and the Orders of the Univerſity about Congregations and Elections, which Matters uſe to call the Scholars from their Studies into Faction and Party-making; The Doctor was always diſpoſed to be quiet, and little concerned himſelf with them. He held a due Reſpect to Superiors, eſpecially in Politicals; and in all his Behaviour and Converſation in the Univerſity, he ſhewed an innate Hatred of popular Faction; as well that which had been ſeminated all over *England*, and began to appear in the Univerſity againſt the Court and Government of King *Charles* II. as alſo all thoſe perverſe and contradictory Doings in his Time, too much agitated with Intent to croſs the Heads, or ſome as irrational Deſigns. I have heard him ſay that he wondered Men profeſſing Philoſophy and Learning, ſhould not judge, but follow one another, like a Rabble, blindly, as if they had not the Uſe of thinking. And he uſed to ſay ſharper Things; but, for the ſake of our Alma Mater, I forbear.

Generally eſteemed, Obſerver of Order and Lectures, and his Opinion of them.

Few Perſons ever had more propitious Circumſtances of Recommendation, to render him eſteemed, than the Doctor had; for beſides his Perſon and Countenance ſeeming always juvenile and flouriſhing, his Relation to many noble Families, being an excellent Scholar, induſtrious, ſober without Interruption, and, in his Manners, devoted to all good Order, Religion, and Virtue, ſet him upon an Eminence, and ſo many not common Symptoms of ſpeedy Preferment, made him be more than ordinarily obſerved, and (perhaps) envied. Nothing obſerved of him turned more to his Credit than his due Attendance at public Exerciſes and Lectures of moſt Faculties in the Schools, which was an unuſual, but very profitable Diligence. I have been told this Obſervation of him by ſome of our Neighbour Miniſters that were his Cotemporaries, and alſo that great Account was made of him for it amongſt them who know little beſides ſuch remarkables of him. His Opinion was that, ſince Books are ſo frequent as now they are, public Lectures are not ſo neceſſary, or (perhaps) uſeful, as in elder

elder Times, when firſt inſtituted, becauſe the Intent of them was to ſupply the want of Books; and now Books are plentiful, Lectures might better be ſpared, and the promiſcuous Uſe of Books come in the Place of them.

Kept Chapel and followed no Coffee-houſe.

The Doctor conformed to all the Orders of the College, ſeldom ate out of the Hall, and then upon a Fiſh Day only, being told it was for his Health. He was conſtantly at the Chapel Prayers, ſo much as one may ſay that, being in Town, he never failed. This, in the Morning, ſecured his Time; for he went from thence directly to his Study, without any Sizing or Breakfaſt at all. Whilſt he was at *Jeſus College*, Coffee was not of ſuch common Uſe as afterwards, and Coffee-houſes but young. At that Time, and long after, there was but one, kept by one *Kirk*. The Trade of News alſo was ſcarce ſet up; for they had only the public Gazette, till *Kirk* got a written News Letter circulated by one *Muddiman*. But now the Caſe is much altered; for it is become a Cuſtom, after Chapel, to repair to one or the other of the Coffee-houſes (for there are diverſe) where Hours are ſpent in talking; and leſs profitable reading of News Papers, of which Swarms are continually ſupplied from *London*. And the Scholars are ſo greedy after News (which is none of their Buſineſs) that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his Chamber after Prayers, without doing his Suit at the Coffee-houſe; which is a vaſt Loſs of Time grown out of a pure Novelty, for who can apply cloſe to a Subject with his Head full of the Din of a Coffee-houſe? I cannot but think that ſince Coffee, with moſt, is become a Morning Refreſhment, the Order, which I knew once eſtabliſhed at *Lambeth* Houſe, or ſomewhat like it, might be introduced into the Colleges; which was for the Chaplains, and Gentlemen Officers to meet every Morning in a Sort of Still-houſe, where a good Woman provided them their Liquors as they liked beſt; and this they called their Coffee-houſe.

Proved his Forces in the Pulpit, and preached before King *Charles* II.

The Doctor's Common-placing, which is a Sort of Diſſertation upon ſome learned Subject, in the Chapel, was a Sort of Preface to his attempting to preach; but he uſed a Precaution more poſitive; for before he went into Orders, he procured a Pulpit at one of the Villages near *Cambridge*, uſually ſerved by a Fellow of the College, and there preached once or twice. This he did to prove his Forces, and acquire ſome Aſſurance, before he undertook to perform more publicly. The firſt Sermon, that he preached in a ſolemn Audience, was before the King at *Newmarket*, upon a Miſſion from the Univerſity. That was a ſevere Trial of his Spirits, and he went with great Reluctance of Mind; but Reaſon and Reſolution prevailed; and he was not abaſhed at ſo great a Preſence. He ſaid that he made it a Law to himſelf

ſelf to confine his View, above the People, to a certain Space which he was not to exceed; and, in ſpeaking to a Multitude, it is a good Rule to mind none of them. The Sermon is in Print by *John Hayes*, 1671. The Text was the firſt Verſe of the firſt *Pſalm*, and the Diſcourſe moral, fit for an Aſſembly not over zealous that Way. The King was pleaſed to ſignify his Approval of it by ſaying, as he came out of the Church, that *the Preacher would ſoon be a* Biſhop: And if his Majeſty had lived a little longer, he might have proved himſelf a Prophet; but his, as well as the Doctor's, untimely Death, fell in the Way of that Event. The Ladies alſo were pleaſed to accept the Doctor's Diſcourſe. One of them, being aſked how ſhe liked Mr. *North*'s Sermon, ſaid, *That he was an handſome Man, and had pretty Doctrine.*

Made his Father's Chaplain recant a vile Hereſy.

The Doctor had an Opportunity of exerciſing his Divinity Faculty upon one of his Father's Chaplains. His Father, as had been ſometimes uſed in that Family, wrote formally to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, for a Chaplain; and they ſent him one *Kitch——n* a Townſman's Son. He was very illiterate, but Thought to ſupply that Defect by extraordinary Giftedneſs, and behaved himſelf ſo fanatically that he was not to be endured. After him came a Brother of his, thought to be a little better Scholar, and looking a little more like a Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church. This latter when the Doctor was preſent, preached moſt damnable Hereſy; *viz.* that our Bleſſed Saviour was the carnal Son of *Joſeph*. This nettled our young Divine; and immediately after he had dined, he took him to taſk in his Chamber, and ſo tutored him that he thought fit, the next *Sunday*, to preach a Recantation Sermon, begging God's Pardon, and the Congregations Excuſe, for his vile Error and Hereſy unthinkingly preached the *Sunday* before.

Some of the Doctor's Journies.

The Doctor was no great Traveller; but ſometimes he affected to go Abroad, and, if he had his Choice, always on Horſeback; for he fancied that Exerciſe good for his Health, and particularly in the Caſe of the Gravel, with which he was troubled. Between *Cambridge* and his Father's Houſe, and to and from *London*, were the chief of his Journies. If his Poſt was in the Coach, he choſe to change with an Horſeman. Once, after riding a very long Journey, he came into the Room in the Inn where the Company was, and threw himſelf down upon the Bed. Now ſaid he, I have the Pleaſure of being very weary. He often viſited Sir *Roger Burgoign*, a virtuous and learned Gentleman, near *Cambridge*. And once, at the Inſtance of his Mother, he made a Viſit to the Lady *Hatton*, her Siſter, at *Kerby* in *Northamptonſhire*. He found his Aunt there, forſaken by her Huſband the old Lord *Hatton*. He lived in *Scotland-Yard*, and diverted himſelf with the Company and Diſcourſe of Players and ſuch idle

idle People that came to him, while his Family lived in Want at *Kerby*. He had committed the whole Conduct there to a favourite Daughter, who was not over kind to her Mother. This noble Lord had bright Parts, and profeſſed alſo to be religious; for he publiſhed the Book of *Pſalms*, with a Prayer ſuitable to each, formed by himſelf; which Book is called *Hatton*'s *Pſalms*, and may be found in the Cloſets of diverſe devout Perſons. Such Difference is often found between Men's Pretenſions and Actions. The famous *Nando M——m*, uſed, in his Drink, to curſe him for writing Pſaumes (as he termed it) and not paying a Debt due to him.

The Lord *Hatton*'s Piety towards his deſolate Mother.

The good old Lady gave her Nephew as good Entertainment as ſhe could; that is, took him into hugger mugger in her Cloſet, where ſhe uſually had ſome good Pye, or plumb Cake, which her Neighbours, in Compaſſion, ſent her in; for the Houſe-keeping was very mean, and ſhe had not the Command of any Thing. When her Lord died, the Care of her, and of the whole Family, and the ruined Eſtate of it, devolved upon that truly noble Perſon her eldeſt Son, who, by an unparallel'd Prudence and Application, repaired the ſhattered Eſtate, ſet his Brother * (the incomparable *Charles Hatton*) and his Siſters at Eaſe. And his ſignal and pious Care of his good Mother is never to be forgot: For he took her, deſtitute of all Jointure and Proviſion, home to him, and entertained her with all the Indulgence and Comfort he could. And the Lady was pleaſed to declare that the latter End of her Age was the Beginning of the true Comfort of her Life.

A providential Reward for it.

It may be obſerved by thoſe that know much of Times, and read the hiſtorical Accounts given of them to Poſterity, that many, and perhaps the moſt important Paſſages, are not to be found in the Hiſtories. As in Topography, ſome, but not half of the Remarkables of a Country are to be found. Where, in our moſt voluminous Writers, to ſay no worſe, do we find an Account of the providential Eſcape of this noble Lord? I muſt profeſs that, in my Judgment, conſidering his apparent Goodneſs and Merit, and the tremendous Calamity that fell upon his Family from the Hand of Heaven, his Perſon was almoſt miraculouſly preſerved. There never was an Incident more indicative of a ſpecial Providence than this was. Therefore I may be excuſed if I give here a ſhort Memorandum of it. His Lordſhip was Governor of *Guernzey*, and ſettled, with his Family, in the Caſtle. There was his Mother, his then Wife (the Counteſs of *Thanet*'s Daughter) and diverſe of his Children, and many Servants. The Caſtle ſtood upon the Rocks waſhed by the Sea; and one Night, when all were in Bed, and his Lordſhip and his Lady aſleep, a Storm of

* This Gentleman is mentioned in the Lord Keeper's Life with the ſame Encomium; but I cannot yet find by any of the Author's Papers upon what Account.

of Thunder fired the Magazine of Gunpowder, and blew up the whole Fabrick; his Mother and Wife, and ſome of his Children, and ſome others, were killed right out. His Lordſhip, in his Bed, was carried and lodged upon the Caſtle Wall, whence was a diſmal Precipice among the Rocks into the Sea. His Lordſhip, perceiving a mighty Diſorder, was going to ſtep out of his Bed to know what the Matter was; which if he had done, he had been irrecoverably loſt, but in the Inſtant of his moving, a Flaſh of Lightning came and ſhewed him the Precipice; whereupon he lay ſtill, till People came and took him down. And ſo was this noble Lord wonderfully, or rather, as I ſaid, miraculouſly, preſerved.

Journey to his Sine Cure, and kind Entertainment in *Wales*.

The greateſt of the Doctor's Travels was into *Wales*, to viſit and be poſſeſſed of his Sine Cure of *Llandinon*. His Deſign was to have gone incognito, but by Means of an extraordinary Civility, he was diſcovered, and then he was forced to receive a great deal more; for falling among the *Morgans* and *Manſells*, who honoured him with a Claim of Kindred, he could not paſs without being generouſly entertained. He came to a *Welſh* Village (to ſay no worſe) in Order to lodge for one Night; and the Gentleman, that lived in the Town, being informed that a gentile young Parſon was come to lodge at the Ale houſe, ſent and invited him to take a hard Bed (as they ſay) at his Houſe. The Doctor complied, and, after his Name, Relation, and Errand was ſqueezed out of him, he muſt ſubmit to be conducted from Houſe to Houſe, Company of the Country attending; and at ſome he ſtayed a Week, or leſs, as Need required; for he made himſelf acceptable every where, conforming to the ordinary Ways of Entertainment in Uſe there, and conſiſtent with his Character. Sometimes, in the afternoon, they went to a clean, but mean, Alehouſe, and the Maid, that ſerved the *Welſh* Ale, uſually made a Courteſy, and drank to the beſt in the Company, who kiſt her, and ſo the Frolick went round. But once, coming to the Doctor, he drank his Cup, but omitted the Ceremony that was to follow. The Maid, who perhaps had more Mind to the ſmooth chinn'd Parſon than to any of the reſt, made him a Courteſy, and *Sir*, ſaid ſhe, *I perceive you do like no Wels'Oman.* I remember the Doctor told us that, when he came to his Pariſh, he found the Humour of the People very different from what, on like Occaſions, was often found in *England*. For inſtead of grumbling at, and affronting, a new Tythmonger come down amongſt them, too often known in *Engliſh* Villages, the Pariſhioners came about and hugged him, calling him their Paſtor, and telling him they were his Sheep. After he had made his Eſcape from his many good Landlords, he got him back to his College as faſt as he could.

Whilſt

His Voyage to *Oxford*, Acquaintance and Entertainment there.

Whilſt the Doctor paſſed ſome of his Time at his beſt Brother's Houſe in *Oxfordſhire*, he deſired to make Uſe of that Opportunity to viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and to make himſelf acquainted with ſome of the eminent Men there. So we equipped, and fell in, on the Road, with a reverend Divine, one Dr. *Hutton*, Fellow of a College, and Miniſter of *Aynehoe* on the Hill, who was bound for the ſame Port. Neither he, nor our Doctor, knew each other but by Rumour. But as Travellers, for their Paſtime on the Road, love to get acquainted, ſo they began a Sort of Amity, as well as Familiarity. This was a moſt propitious Incident; for Dr. *Hutton*, not only entertained us moſt humanely but, attended the Doctor in his Viſits of the Colleges and Schools, and introduced him into the Knowledge of the Heads of the Univerſity, and particularly the great Doctor *Fell*, who was truly great in all his Circumſtances, Capacities, Undertakings, and Learning, and above all for his ſuperabundant publick Spirit and good Will, which ſhined in his Care of the Youth, eſpecially thoſe of Quality, in the Univerſity. O, the Felicity of that Age and Place, when his Authority ſwayed! He led us about, and ſhewed his printing Office, and talked of his Deſigns there, and the Diſcourſe fell wholly upon Learning, Books, and learned Men. But I was not capable to bring away much, and remember none; and, for that Reaſon, do not take upon me to account for any Thing at all of it. But I am ſure our Doctor was much careſſed, and, with thoſe Perſons whom he happened to converſe with, ſeeming the moſt conſiderable, was courted as one whoſe Converſation they apparently affected to compaſs and enjoy.

Removed to *Trinity College* to be near the Maſter Dr. *Barrow*.

The Addition of this *Welſh* Preferment, being, as I take it, a Cure of Souls, though a Vicar endowed exerciſed it, might ſecond the Doctor's Deſires to change his College, as being incompatible with his Fellowſhip, on which Account only I believe he ſtayed ſo long there. Thereupon he procured himſelf to be admitted of *Trinity College*, had a Chamber aſſigned him, and removed all his Effects thither. He uſed to alledge many Reaſons for his Choice of that College; as that he valued much the Company of that Society, where reſided many excellent Perſons; and he perceived more of the humane and polite in that than in the leſſer Colleges. But, above all, the leading Card was the Value he had for the more than thrice excellent Maſter Dr. *Barrow*. He had long ago contracted a familiar Acquaintance, I may ſay Friendſhip, with him, and they uſed each other in a moſt delightful Communication of Thoughts. The good Dr. *Barrow* ended his Days in *London*, in a Prebend's Houſe that had a little Stair to it out of the Cloiſters, which made him call it a *Man's Neſt*, and I preſume it ſo called at this Day. The Maſter's Diſeaſe was an high Fever.

Fever. It had been his Cuſtom, contracted when (upon the Fund of a travelling Fellowſhip) he was at *Conſtantinople*, in all his Maladies, to cure himſelf with Opium; and, being very ill (probably) he augmented his Doſe, and ſo inflamed his Fever, and at the ſame Time obſtructed the Criſis: For he was as a Man knock'd down, and had the Eyes as of one diſtracted. Our Doctor, ſeeing him ſo, was ſtruck with Horror; for he, that knew him ſo well in his beſt Health, could beſt diſtinguiſh; and, when he left him, he concluded he ſhould ſee him no more alive; and ſo it proved.

Made Maſter of *Trinity* upon the Death of Dr. *Barrow*, which proved a Burthen.

After the Death of this moſt worthy Perſon, our Doctor had the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* conferred upon him; and thereby was poſſeſſed, as he thought, of all the Eaſe and Content he could by any Means propoſe to himſelf; and from thence he dated, as from an Epocha, the Repoſe he had in Preſent, and in future hoped to enjoy. He accounted himſelf very well ſettled, when he lived as a common Maſter of Arts in the College, without any Aid from the Revenues of the Society. What then muſt the Alteration be when he was Maſter, and had ſo great an Encreaſe of Revenues and Accommodation as that Station afforded? But oh, the Difference between a private Condition and Magiſtracy! Before, when the Doctor had no Charge of Government upon his Spirits, but of himſelf and his Studies only, he was in all Reſpects eaſy. But after this Preferment, than which nothing could have more nicely ſuited his Deſires, he fell under ſuch knawing Cares and Anxieties, that he had ſmall Joy of his Life; and it was really ſhortened thereby; of which in it's proper Place. He was (to ſpeak ironically) ſo unadviſed as to think of Duty and Juſtice in Government; and, for that Reaſon, he ought to be made, as he was, an Example for the Terror of others who, by rare Chance, may fall under the Miſtake of ſuch bad Maxims; but here we are a little too forward.

Laboured in the *Greek*, and was made Profeſſor, and his Sentiments.

During his former Reſidence in *Trinity College*, the Doctor perſevered in his Application to the *Greek* Literature; and his Time and Pains therein were not loſt, for he made ſuch Advances that he was reputed one of the beſt *Grecians* in the Univerſity. And accordingly in *November*, 1672. he was elected *Greek* Profeſſor. That Service obliged to read Lectures publickly in the Schools at appointed Times; which he performed moſt punctually, and thereby confirmed the Opinion that was preconceived of him; for he was really a prime Critic in that Language. He uſed to ſay that a due Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue was abſolutely neceſſary for a Divine: and as the *Grecian*, ſo the Divine. He much wondered to ſee that ſkill ſo much ſlighted and laid aſide as it was by the Clergy in general. For his Part, he did not ſee with what Face a Man could pretend to be of the

the Clergy, and not underſtand *Greek*; ſince, not only the New Teſtament but, moſt of the eminent eccleſiaſtical Writers were in *Greek*: And the Idiom of that Language (not juſtly transferrable into any common Speech) gives the greateſt Light towards clearing obſcure Queſtions in Divinity, *Latin*, and the Vernaculars Weſtward, which are almoſt all deduced under it, carry nearly the ſame Idiom; but the Orientals and *Greek* partake not ſo much of them.

Of Dr. *Duport*'s Congratulatory Poem.

There is a notable Recognition of our Doctor's Skill in *Greek*, left by Dr. *Duport* his Predeceſſor, who was a famous *Grecian*. It is a congratulatory Poem upon our Doctor's Election; and it is to be found printed among his Poems in Octavo, by *John Hayes*, 1676. and it was deſigned as a Compliment for the Doctor's Honour who, by many, was thought too young for that Poſt. This Poem might paſs very well, but for one Punn, which is this,

——— *comicique Nubes*
Profligas, Aquilo, & facis ſudum.

So becauſe *Boreas* in *Homer* is a clearer of the Air, *North* muſt interpret *Ariſtophanes*'s Comedy, titled *Nubes*, and, by the Style of *Aquilo*, make clear Weather. This Dr. *Duport* was a very little Man, and inclined ſtrangely to ſuch little Conceits. Even in the Chair, when he was deputed *Regius Profeſſor* of Divinity, and ſtyled *Pater*, he could not forbear ſaying, *Sum Paterculus, ſed non Velleius.* But bating him that Ace, he was truly a great Man.

Formerly was Clerk of the Cloſet to King *Charles* II.

Our Doctor, before he was Maſter of Trinity, or had any Preferment of the Gift of the Crown, waited as Clerk of the Cloſet to King *Charles* II. That Poſt was not only a ſure Track to Preferment in the Church, but agreed exceeding well with his Humour; for there he lived upon an Hill, and ſaw how the World went, and, withal, had his Cell to retire to, which was a very convenient Lodging in *Whitehall*, upon the Parade of the Court, near the Preſence Chamber. His Diet was provided for him; and the Chaplains in waiting were Company to his Wiſh. At the Beginning he was in Danger of being troubled with impertinent Viſits; which had proved croſs to him, whoſe Deſign and Paſtime was reading and thinking; for at Court there is always a Sort of People whoſe Day Labour is having nothing to do, and who are apt to ſay, *Come, ſhall we go and ſpend half an Hour with Mr.* Clerk *of the Cloſet?* and, adding, *to drink a Glaſs of Wine, or Ale*, who could reſiſt? But he had a Caution given him by a friendly old Courtier, not to entertain at his Chamber upon any Account, not ſo much as with ſmall Beer in hot Weather; for if he did, his Quiet would forſake him. All Advice is acceptable to thoſe who are

inclined beforehand to take it; as the Doctor was, who lived, like an Hermit in his Cell, in the midſt of the Court, and proved the Title of a fooliſh *French* Writer, *La Solitude de la Cour.*

Dealt as a Confeſſor to ſome devout People at *Whitehall.*

I have heard him ſay that, in Times before the Reformation, by Inſtitution, or Uſage, the Clerk of the Cloſet was the Proper Confeſſor of the Court. And when he reſided there, diverſe Perſons, far from Papiſts, eſpecially Ladies, who thought auricular Confeſſion, though no Duty, a pious Practice, applied to him for like Purpoſes, and to eaſe their Minds. And he as piouſly conformed, and did the Office of a Paſtor, or Parochus of the Court. I have alſo heard him ſay that, for the Number of Perſons that reſided in the Court, a Place reputed a Center of all Vice and Irreligion, he thought there were as many truly pious and ſtrictly religious, as could be found in any other Reſort whatſoever. And he never ſaw ſo much fervent Devotion, and ſuch frequent Acts of Piety and Charity as his Station gave him Occaſion to obſerve there. It often falls out that Extremes are conterminous, and as Contraries illuſtrate each other, ſo here Virtue and Vice. Therefore it is not reaſonable to condemn Aggregates of any Denomination, or the Individuals ſeparately, for the Practices of ſome, although they may be the ruling Party amongſt them.

Obtained a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter.*

During this Sunſhine of Favour, the Doctor obtained a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*; which alſo ſuited him well becauſe there was an Houſe, and Accommodations for living in Town, and the Content and Joy he conceived in being a Member of ſo conſiderable a Body of learned Men, and dignified in the Church, as the Body of Prebends were; abſolutely unlike an inferior College in the Univerſity. Here was no Faction, Diviſion, or Uneaſineſs, but, as becoming Perſons learned and wiſe, they lived truly as Brethren, quarrelling being never found but among Fools or Knaves. He uſed to deplore the bad Condition of that Collegiate Church, which to ſupport was as much as they were able to do. It was an extenſive and induſtrious Managery to carry on the Repairs. And of later Time ſo much hath been laid out that Way as would have rebuilt ſome Part of it. This Reſidence was one of his Retreats, where he found ſome Eaſe and Comfort in his deplorable Weakneſs; as I ſhall ſhew when I come to that melancholy Paſs.

Accepted and greatlyeſteemed by the Duke of *Lauderdale.*

The Doctor was much honoured by the Countenance, or rather Friendſhip of the Duke of *Lauderdale.* He was his Majeſty's Commiſſioner for *Scotland*; and being himſelf a very learned Man, was a great Favourer and Encourager of all ſuch. The Doctor came firſt into his Acquaintance, by the Means of the Ducheſs. When ſhe was a Widow, with the Title of Counteſs of *Diſert*, ſhe lived at *Fakenham* in *Suffolk*, not far from the Doctor's Relations, who neighbourly

correſponded.

correſponded. This Lady's two Sons, the *Talmaches*, and the Doctor were Playfellows at School and at Home, and after he was grown up, ſhe deſired to ſee him, and he often waited upon her, and moſt reſpectfully anſwered her ſevere Catechizations; for ſhe was a Lady of abundant Wit, and Knowledge of State Affairs and the Court. Thence the Paſſage was direct into the Converſation of the Duke, who, finding the Doctor a well read Scholar, judicious, and, in the learned Languages a Critic, and, what, at that Time, was too much wanted among the Men of Parts, of loyal Principles, ſuſtained by Rules of Duty and Policy inexpugnable, greatly eſteemed, and frequently admitted him into a Familiarity of Converſe with him. He communicated his Library, which was ſpacious, and furniſhed with Books that were curious and ſcarce, eſpecially in Matters relating to the ſacred Hiſtory; and there was Opportunity of diſcourſing of Editions and Criticiſm, and alſo of what had been much the Duke's Study, the Subjects of Popery and Fanaticiſm.

Created Dr. of Divinity in Preſence of the Duke of *Lauderdale.*

It happened that once, when the King was at *Newmarket*, the Duke, though no Horſeracer, attended. And it concerned him not a little to be continually near the King; for, at that Time, the Spirit of Sedition was rampant. And, with that Spirit, the Court itſelf was not a little infected, which pointed, not only at the Duke of *York* and his Succeſſion but, for like Ends, at the King himſelf; but moſt of all at the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who ſtood like a Rock in the Way. It had been a Court Trick, when any Points of Conſequence, and diſagreeable to the Miniſters, were to be gained by teezing, to take the Opportunity of the *Newmarket* Meetings, when the grave Counſellors were at *London*, or elſewhere far enough off. Therefore the Duke, knowing that the Streſs would light upon the Affairs of *Scotland*, his Province, and Perſon, in Order to get him, if poſſible, removed, thought fit to be, as they ſay, at the Shaving of his own Beard. The Body of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* complimented the Duke with an Invitation to an Entertainment, which he accepted; and nothing was wanting that could be thought of to make it agreeable to him. In the Regent Houſe he was placed at the upper End of the Table, and there ſaw and heard the Manner and Forms of creating a Doctor of Divinity; and, as a Reſpect to the Duke, that Degree was ſolemnly conferred upon our Doctor as one of his Favourites; and, by that Opportunity, the Doctor came into his Degree eaſily, which, in the common Track, had been both expenſive and troubleſome. Then the Duke had the Offer of Doctor of Laws, with which Stateſmen, as ſuitable to their Profeſſion, are ordinarily complimented. The Duke accepted it, and the Grace of the Houſes for it paſt in Form. Then, the Orator having made his eloquent Speech, all was

thought to be over. But the Duke, riſing up, began with a loud Voice, *Non conabor*, &c. to anſwer the Orator, and concluded in a ſtately Form, with Thanks to his *Alma Mater*. One Thing was remarkable: The Duke was one of the talleſt and moſt bulky Men one ſhould ordinarily ſee, and the Orator the leaſt. But whether the Duke complimented the Orator with an Advantage in Eloquence, as himſelf had in Figure, thoſe, who ſaw and heard both, may determine. But certainly the Diſcourſe of the Profeſſor in executing the Forms of creating the Doctor of Divinity, all in pureſt *Terentian Latin*, and moſt apt Invention, was an accompliſhed Delight and Entertainment to us Aliens that never heard the like before. But, in Concluſion of all theſe Academic Operations, we have got a finiſhed Doctor of Divinity; and now we may with better Warrant than, as hitherto, for pure Compendium, give him the Style accordingly.

The Maſterſhip of *Trinity* a Preferment to his Heart's Content at firſt.

After the Death of the excellent Maſter Dr. *Barrow*, who ſat as Vicechancellor at the ſolemnity beforementioned, our Doctor, as I hinted before, was preferred to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity College*. That was a Settlement beyond which his Ambition had no farther View: And he was not in his Nature capable of being more happy than he was at his firſt Entrance upon that Charge. But how Circumſtances altered to prevent his Eaſe and Content unto a State of Trouble, Miſery, and finally Loſs of Life, I am to make the Concluſion of this Narrative. But in the mean Time, upon his leaving his Attendance at Court, which had made a great Gap in the midſt of his Studies, and cauſed him often grievouſly to complain, he was reſtored to his Text, and might proſecute his Deſigns in his beloved College, where he found himſelf poſted with Honour and Advantage; and, as it was his Deſire, ſo it was his Fate to die Maſter of *Trinity*.

Account of the Doctor's Studies.

And now, before we advance farther, it will not be amiſs to take ſome Account of the Doctor's Studies, relate what we know of them, and of his Deſigns to publiſh; as he had ſurely done if he had lived to have (or to have thought he had) finiſhed any of the Works upon his Anvil. And conſidering I have here undertaken the Life of a Perſon who, like a flouriſhing Fruit-Tree, bloſſomed fairly, and then underwent a fatal Blight that deſtroyed Fruit and Tree altogether, for which Reaſon there will not fall out much of Action to be hiſtorically related, I may be indulged in Speculation, which had been the chief Work of his Life. The Work of Philology being well over, the Doctor did not confine himſelf to the Study of Theology, though that was become his avowed Profeſſion, but extended his Enquiries into the dark Receſſes of learned Antiquities, Languages, and Philoſophy, and making Compariſons of it in the ſeveral Ages of it's flouriſhing;

flouriſhing; noting the various Sects, and the changes in their Opinions, and the Tranſitions from one Sect to another. He took Notice that ſuch an Hiſtory was much wanted; but, of Collectors and Tranſcribers of Sentences, that there were more than enough. He was partial to *Plato*, and recommended the reading his Works to Students. He put out an Edition of ſome Select Pieces, which concerned chiefly the Cataſtrophy of *Socrates*. This was publiſhed in Octavo, at *Cambridge*, 1673, and entitled, *Platonis Dialogi Selecti*. In a ſhort Preface, the Doctor ſhews how moral Philoſophy came into *Greece*, gives a ſhort Character of *Socrates* and his Manner of teaching, and then the Occaſion of this Publication, and why of theſe rather than any other Pieces of *Plato*; for theſe contain a Knowledge that every one ought to covet; whereas the others contain many dry Speculations fit enough for the proper Time, and now for ſuch as covet to know every Thing. And hereby this Choice is had at a cheap Rate, which, in the whole Works, would be a great Expence; and he wonders that *Ariſtotle* had been often publiſhed in ſeparate Volumns, but never *Plato*. He gives a ſhort Account of each of the Pieces, and why he choſe the Tranſlation of *Ficinus* rather than *Serranus*, and of his adding a ſectionary Index to the whole. There are ſome other Pieces of ancient Philoſophy, which are publiſhed and joined in a Collection of the like, made by Dr. *Tho. Gale*. Theſe were publiſhed in 1671; and of our Doctor's Share, he gives this Account. —— *Habes denique Pythagorica Fragmenta. Videre ea quidem jam ſæpius Lucem, transfuſa in plures, credo, Formas quàm ipſius Pythagoræ Anima. Ex iis alia nunc primo Latine verſa, alia autem notis illuſtrata debes* Johanni North, V. C. *qui Generis ſui Claritudinem Virtute & Eruditione exæquat.* Nothing more of his hath come through the Preſs to my Knowledge; but, by what I have heard him ſay, I gueſs he intended to publiſh more of the like; intending thereby to draw the Scholars off from their rigid Attachments to *Ariſtotle*, into an Acquaintance with *Plato*; and if he had lived, he might have done much more towards it, if what he did had not a conſiderable Effect.

The bad Uſe made of *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy.

It ſeems the Doctor thought *Plato*'s Way of Philoſophiſing more conſonant to Chriſtian Morality than *Ariſtotle*'s was. The ancient Fathers inclined that Way, until a known Courſe of Corruption in the Hierarchy bred an Occaſion to abandon *Plato*, and to take up with *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Diſcipline was apter for maintaining indeterminate Diſputes about any Thing or Nothing, Truth or Falſity, and Error, almoſt indifferently. What elſe could be the Meaning of their pouring out of *Ariſtotle* that empty Jargon, of Matter and Form, upon the holy Euchariſt; by which, and many Syllogiſtical Artifices, they

they maintain their gainful Impoſitions, and, particularly, that monſtrous Abſurdity Tranſubſtantiation. Which they fortify with chimeric Notions of Subſtance and Accident, out of the ſame nonſenſical Philoſophy. What imports *Ariſtotle's* having had a tranſcendent Genius, if his inſufferable Domineering, and Contempt of others, led him to divide from Truth, and to take up with certain Schemes of Words that ſignify nothing, whereby to make all his own?

His Writing, eſpecially *Greek*, fair and orderly.

The Doctor's Hand-writing was very neat and clean, much reſembling what, now a-days, they call an *Elzevir* Letter. He uſed a ſmooth and round Pen, without cutting his Letters which were ſingularly well formed and legible; and yet not like to any other Man's Hand-writing, which happens to many that write for themſelves, and much in a ſolitary Way. His Characters were ſmall, but very black, uſing no Abbreviations. But above all, his *Greek* Writing was exquiſite, which demonſtrated that he wrote a great deal of it. I have ſeen many of his Letters, and alſo Notes upon Authors; and do not remember to have ſeen a Blot, or Obliteration, in them. This argues a very conſiderate Proceeding, and a clear Underſtanding which, going before the Pen, prevented the Occaſion of many Corrections and Alterations, as moſt ordinary Writers are tormented with. And it ſeems, that, for Order of Writing, he choſe the Pattern of printed Books.

A Friend to, but no great Student in the Mathematicks.

As for Arts and Sciences that flouriſhed in his Time, he deſired to be a Stranger to none; but did not profeſſedly purſue them. Upon this Account he applied to the Mathematicks, but as a Friend, and not as a Lover. He uſed to converſe much with Dr. *Barrow* (who, in thoſe Sciences had gone great Lengths) which one would have thought ſhould have fired him; but it had a moſt contrary Effect, for it cooled him and made him abandon the Study. The Doctor repreſented to him what Pains he had taken, and particularly, that he had ſpent more Time upon one Propoſition, which was to prove an Arch of a Circle equal to a ſtraight Line (in Order to ſquare the Circle) than moſt Men ſpend in qualifying themſelves for gainful Profeſſions; and all, that he got, was a Demonſtration that it was impoſſible to be done. He found Reaſon to ſuſpect that every Arch and every ſtraight Line were incommenſurable, and then, as he obſerves, *actum eſt de Tetragoniſmo*, there's an End of ſquaring the Circle. Hereby the Doctor perceived that, if he purſued Mathematics, he muſt adhere, and neglect all his other Studies and Deſigns, in which he found himſelf much advanced. Sir *Iſaac Newton* was in the College a Cotemporary, and, being made by Nature and Inclination for mathematical Studies, had much Encouragement and Aſſiſtance therein from Dr. *Barrow*,

Barrow, who, as ſome ſay, firſt hinted to him the Plan of his great Coſmographical Syſtem. But, however, it falls out odly that, to the beſt of my Remembrance, Dr. *Barrow* is not ſo much as mentioned in any of his Writings. This being ſo, old *Ariſtotle* himſelf, conſulting his own Fame, could not have done better.

How he dealt with a ſolitary Pupil on that Subject.

While the Doctor lived in *Jeſus College*, and was Fellow, he had but one ſolitary Pupil; and that Youth, * diſcovered to him an Inclination to know what the Mathematics were. His Tutor thereupon procured him *Fourneir's* firſt ſix Books of *Euclid*, and wiſhed him to read them. The Lad fell to, and, after the Definitions, read the two firſt Propoſitions, and then remonſtrated to his Tutor that he found no Encouragement to go on; for there was a Triangle and a ſtraight Line, and a Stir to prove Equalities that were plain of themſelves. The Doctor anſwered, *that if any one read Mathematics, and was not delighted, he might take it for granted that he did not underſtand what he read.* Thereupon the Scholar read farther, and found that a Line ſtruck obliquely over one or two others, plainly proved that the three Angles of every Triangle were equal to two right ones. And then, maſtering the 47th Propoſition and ſome others, he acquired ſuch a Taſte as carried him through a Student's Courſe; and though he was no great Proficient, yet he was fond of the Mathematic Sciences ever after.

Maſter of the, then, new Philoſophy.

As for the Philoſophy, whereof *M. Des Cartes* was the celebrated Author; the Doctor made himſelf Maſter of it ſo far, that he could ſhew wherein it was coincident with, and wherein it differed from, the ancient Sects, and ſo brought it into Connection, purſuant to the Deſign of his intended Hiſtory of Philoſophy. But he did not ſet up for a Dogmatiſt in Particulars, and choſe to keep upon the volant, free to Diſcourſe and cenſure as he, from Time to Time, thought fit, declining all *Ipſe dixit's*, or taking Sides, as of a Sect or Party. In his Converſation upon theſe Subjects, he kept to the Method of the Schools, where *ſolvit*, or *non ſolvit*, rather than true or falſe, carries it; though the former is not the Criterium of the latter; for there may be many Solutions, and yet there can be but one Truth. And it may happen that, according to our Underſtandings, that one Truth, in our Judgment, ſhall appear to be no Solution. Among his Virtuoſo Friends and Acquaintance, he loved to ſpar Queſtions, and foment Diſputes, and then whip into the Chair as Moderator, ſiding as he thought the Reaſon ſwayed: And they muſt look well to their Hits; for a falſe, or weak, Reaſoning ſeldom eſcaped him; and they muſt make good their Arguments, or let go their Hold. His hardeſt Taſk was to keep his Diſputants in due Bounds; for, in the moſt diſintereſted Altercations, Heats will kindle and exaſperate till the Parties can ſcarce

* His Brother Roger, the honourable Author of this Work.

ſcarce underſtand one another. And, in this Manner, the Doctor and his near Friends, with utmoſt Content and Satisfaction, uſed to entertain their Hours, when Affairs permitted them to be ſo happy.

His Intent to purſue certain Subjects.

I have obſerved that Men, profeſſing general Learning, after they have courſed through all Sciences, and literate Enquiries, have at Length determined their Thoughts towards ſome particular Subjects which have proved to be Favourites, and have become ſo taken up with them, that their Application hath been chiefly regarding them; and, from thenceforth, Matters, relating thereto, ſhall be more ſtrictly canvaſſed and purſued than any other; and all in Hopes of making ſome Advances therein. Accordingly the Doctor began to concentrate his Thoughts to certain particular Subjects, and had formed the Outlines of ſome Tracts he intended to compoſe for the Improvement of Learning in thoſe Topics which he thought had been imperfectly held forth, and not well underſtood. And of theſe, according to my beſt Remembrance of his ordinary Talk, and the Hints he threw out, I purpoſe to give the beſt Account I can.

Hiſtory of Philoſophy and Heathen Theology.

I am well aſſured that he intended to compoſe a critical Hiſtory of Philoſophy and Philoſophers, with the Originations, Connections, Tranſitions and Alterations of the Opinions, and alſo of the ſeveral Sects, how they ſprung up, one under another, comparing their Tenets, and ſhewing wherein they agreed and diſagreed, with their Squablings and Altercations; and ſo coming down ſo low as his own Time, to ſhew how the Moderns had borrowed from the Ancients, and what they had ſet up new of their own. He uſed to ſay there was little of this Kind of Learning to be found in Print, and, being once well done, it would be very uſeful to Scholars. I do not remember that *Rapin's* Works, which tend a little that Way, were then publiſhed; but his Deſign is more Criticiſm than Hiſtory. The Doctor alſo intended an Hiſtory of the Heathen Theology, which he ſaid was almoſt wholly wanted. As for Comments and Notes of his own upon the *Greek* and *Latin* Claſſic Authors, he had great Heaps of them by him. But, as I think, he intended not to publiſh any but occaſionally, as Authors might happen to be reprinted, when they might be ſerviceable. And of that Sort were his Notes upon ſome forementioned Pieces of the Platonic School, put out by Mr. *Gale*.

Againſt *Socinus*, *Republics* and *Hobbs*.

In Chriſtian Theology he had a full Intention to publiſh a thorough Confutation of the *Socinians*; and ſome ſhrew'd Touches that Way were found in a Notebook, which by Chance eſcaped the Fire, as I ſhall ſhew. I have heard him ſpeak much of the Importance of that Controverſy; and he was ſo far a Prophet as to declare he thought that Hereſy would ſoon break out and inſult Chriſtianity itſelf. I do not remember he diſcovered any Diſpoſition to attack the Papiſts, or

Sectaries,

Sectaries, though he had conſidered them well; but he might think there were Labourers enough at that Oar. In Politics he had no mean Deſigns. I think they may be reduced to three Subjects. 1. To expoſe a deceitful Notion of a Republic, which he accounted the worſt of Tyrannies under a Maſk of Liberty, ſhewing the diabolical Oppreſſions, Injuſtices, and Ingratitude of Communities acted in Courſe, and eſpecially againſt good and juſt Men. He ſaid he would go no farther for this than an Hiſtory of the Republic of *Athens*, which would ſhew it fully.

The Government of that City came neareſt to a pure Democracy, of any that ever was in the World. It ſuffered continual Changes (ſuch is the natural Tendency of a Populace) and, at length, fell under Tyranny in the worſt Senſe, which is the proper End of all popular Sway. 2. He intended a Confutation of Mr. *Hobbes* (a Writer, at that Time, much in Vogue) and 3, as an Appendant to that, a Diſcourſe of natural Juſtice amongſt Men, all poſitive Laws whatſoever abſtracted; that is how all Men, according to right Reaſon, are bound to live together, if no Pact, or Law, of any Kind, had been ever eſtabliſhed. This was the forwardeſt of any Deſign he had. I have caſt an Eye glancing at a large Folio Book of his own Handwriting (and very fair) upon that Subject, but might not read any Part of it. So nice was he of even his Friend's Cenſure of what he did: How much more of the Public? I neither know nor believe that he made any Perſon living acquainted with his Scheme; but he hath often in Diſcourſe profered diverſe of his Notions, which I thought very ſingular. I do not know of any other writing Deſign he had; but am ſure his Mind was always full of various Flowers, which often in Diſcourſe broke from him, and were ſuch as, if he had lived, might have proved Subjects of uſeful Treatiſes. And as to his Tenets and Opinions in thoſe he was at work upon, I ſhall, from the Light of the little Notebook I have of his, give ſome faint Account.

Complained of the Drudgery of Compoſing.

By what has been ſaid it appears that he was extremely nice in all his Compoſitions; and, however it fared with the Subject Matter, he was ſure never to be pleaſed with his own Compoſition and Style. He never uſed an Amanuenſis; therefore he might juſtly, as he often did, complain of the Drudgery of compoſing, and of the great Difficulty of writing well. He was much taken with the Penning of the Hiſtory of the Royal Society, by Dr. *Sprat*, and ſaid, that if he might ſo acquire the Style of that Writer, he would read no other Book for a whole Year. He uſed alſo to ſay, that Study and Invention were his Pleaſures, but Penning his greateſt Labour and Pain. It is thought that the Lord *Verulam* invented and ſuggeſted; but then, as to the tranſcribing, or even methodiſing, his Matters, he reſted himſelf

upon others. The *Romiſh* Intereſt have numerous learned Societies, and not a few of the ſame Order; witneſs the Jeſuits who communicate, in any great Work that is to be publiſhed; by ſending out Taſks to their Brethren as they think will be beſt performed; all which returned, and compoſed by that College, or Perſon, who ſits at the Helm, a ſtately Work is launched. Theſe are not in the Power of a ſolitary Author, whoſe Heart is broke by the Pains of digeſting and tranſcribing, to ſay nothing of the Charge of Amanuenſes and Copiers. It's Pity there is not the like Communication amongſt us.

He had no Aſſiſtances, and ſuffered by his Slowneſs.

This Niceneſs of our Doctor, being ſo very ſevere as it was, had an unlucky Turn by keeping back the cloſing of any Work. He never thought it complete, as it ſhould be, and would do all himſelf, invent, conſult, compare, digeſt, and tranſcribe, and never uſed any Amanuenſis, or Copier, and, by this Means, the Public loſt all the Fruit, and he the Credit, of all his Labours. He had a ready, clear, and ſignificant Style, and wanted nothing but, what too many have too great a Share of, Confidence, and Aſſurance of himſelf. This may appear in thoſe Scraps of his which are in Print. But another Inconvenience attended his Labours to be exact: And it was this. He found that, by often iterating, his Thoughts loſt of their Force, and his Pen grew ſtiff, (as they ſay that Painters, in working up, looſe the Spirit of the firſt Draught.) I have heard him complain ſenſibly of theſe Inconveniences; but ſuch Helps, as I have mentioned, would have given him great Eaſe, but he was not diſpoſed to favour himſelf that Way. This Slowneſs of his Penwork was a prejudice to him in other Reſpects; for his Mind was full, and wanted a Diſcharge; and that drew a Weight upon his Spirits. Sorrow they ſay is eaſed by complaining, though to the Winds. So a learned Man, that gathers for writing, may be ſo full charged that, until he hath unloaded his Thoughts upon Paper, and to his Satisfaction, finds little Eaſe.

Surpriſed by a fatal Sickneſs; and, by his Order, all his MSS. went to the Fire.

But the worſt of all was that, while his Writings were in this Manner retarded, young as he was, a fatal Sickneſs overtook him, whereby all at once, he was utterly diſabled to purſue, or finiſh, any Thing he had, at any Time of his Life, given a Beginning to: Under this Infliction, finding himſelf, as to all future Study and Compoſing, in a deſperate Condition, he adjured his * beſt Friend, and Truſtee of all his Concerns (whom he had, in his Will, made ſole Executor) to burn every Writing of his own Hand, left behind him, immediately after his Death, And he would not be entreated to the contrary, nor ſatisfied without a ſolemn Promiſe of him, in expreſs Words, that he would faithfully do it. It is probable he had done it himſelf; but Life is ſcarce ever without Hopes of better than utter Extremity; and

* The Lord Keeper *North*.

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it was poſſible for God to reſtore him to his Strength of Body and Mind. But it fell out otherewiſe, for his Condition was languiſhing to the Time of his Death, of which the melancholy Account is at Hand: And he was ſo far deſperate as to all Study that, if he attempted any Thing tending that Way, it brought Epileptic Fits upon him, which tortured and exceedingly deſpirited him; ſo that his Friend could not deny what he ſo fervently aſked. Accordingly, not long after his Death, all his critical Notes, Lectures, Sermons, Animadverſions, Treatiſes, and Diſcourſes of all Kinds, perfect if any were ſo, and imperfect, uſeful or not, went altogether in Lumps, as innocent Martyrs, to the Fire.

A ſmall Note Book eſcaped the Flames.

But it hath fallen out that one of his Pocket-Books in Octavo, containing ſome of his extemporaneous Thoughts upon various Subjects, out of all Order, ſome with Ink, but moſt with red Chalk, or black Lead, clapt down there on a ſudden, lay out of the Way, and eſcaped this general Conflagration. And however, I am ſuſpended from communicating theſe Notes in any Way (for ſuch extemporaneous Scraps muſt needs carry many Defects) I ſhall nevertheleſs give a ſhort Account of the chief of them, and thereby demonſtrate the Tendency of his Deſigns and Studies.

Some Account of his Notes in it.

The Subjects may be ranged under theſe general Heads, 1. Divinity, 2. Criticiſm, 3. Philoſophy, 4. Politics. As to the firſt, it appears the Doctor was prepared to batter the *Atheiſts*, and then the *Arrians* and *Socinians*. After having laid open their Strengths, he meant to attack them with their own Arms (as they pretend) right Reaſon. And, in Order to this, he hints ſomewhat of the Reaſon of the Chriſtian Religion, and the holy Sacraments of it; and finally to ſupport the Authority of the holy Scripture; which done, he thought there would be an End of *Socinianiſm*. There are ſome remarkable Touches concerning *Arminius* and *Calvin*. He is manifeſtly of Opinion with the former, but looks upon the other, with Reſpect to ignorant Men, to be more politic, and thereby, in ſome Reſpects, fitter to maintain Religion in them, becauſe more ſuited to their Capacity. But that is referred to Art, and not to Truth, and ought to be ranked with the *Piæ Fraudes*, or holy Cheats; which ſeems no good Character of Preſbytery. It hath been known that the worſt of Hereſies have been popular. There are ſome Remarks upon the *Roman* Catholics and *Latitudinarians*, but not ſo copious as upon other Heads. There is alſo many Touches about the Heathen Theology, a Learning he much affected, tending to improve and clear the Hiſtory of the heathen Idolatry. There is little Criticiſm; but enough to ſhew he was not a little concerned about Style and Language. The Account given of *Ariſtotle*'s Logic is with more Freedom than the

Humour of the Univerſity, among the Seniors at leaſt at that Time, would have allowed. He chargeth it to be, not only uſeleſs but, pernicious to all true Philoſophy and Knowledge; and proves it by the vain Offspring it had, meaning the Schoolmen, and Scholaſtic Diſputation. As to his Philoſophy, I muſt obſerve that there is a manifeſt Track of the beforementioned Deſign of writing the Hiſtory of the ancient Philoſophy, with a Compariſon of the Ancients one with another, and of all with the Moderns; which had been a Work, which the greateſt Scholar might have been proud of. It appears here he was not a Follower of *Ariſtotle*, or of any other; but, according to the Juſtneſs of his Thoughts, doth right to all, and, impartially to prefer Truth, he applauds and cenſures clearly, and (after his Way of thinking) according to Merit. He was not wonderfully inſtructed in the minute Particularities of *Carteſius's mundane Syſtem*, nor was it very material for him, or any one elſe, ſo to be. The laſt Head of thoſe under which I have ranged his Notes, is Politics, and dealt moſt in the State of Nature, and the original Foundations of Right and Wrong amongſt Men; from whence, as I touched before, he intended to derive his Principles of Government and Law. This is chiefly levelled againſt Mr. *Hobbes*, and ſhews ſome Sparks of that Fire he was kindling to caſt a better Light upon Nature's primordial Laws than that Author had ſet up. He ſlighted confuting that Author, whoſe Frame leaned upon two or three Principles, which when once proved falſe, the whole Structure muſt come down which that Author had, with a World of Wit and Plauſibility, erected thereupon. As for Inſtance, againſt the Opinion that a State of Nature is a State of War, he oppoſeth Demonſtration that it is otherwiſe, being a State of pure Amity and Innocence. And it is this: Man entered not into Society for Fear; for before there could be any Cauſes of Fear from one another, they joined themſelves into little Companies. Now the Fault of Mr. *Hobbes* is, that he meaſures the primitive State by the Humour of Men now in Society. There was that innate Simplicity in Men themſelves, which we admire now only in Children; and that, which collected them firſt together, was no other than what makes other Creatures delight in their own Kind, and herd together. So by Degrees they came to the more cloſe Union of Society; and when the World grew ſtreighter, and Men were put to greater Shifts, then they began to War. He is much againſt that Piece of *Hobbiſm* that the Magiſtrate's Power is derived from the People; and, for that Reaſon, a ſupreme Magiſtrate can do no Wrong, or, as Mr. *Hobbes* ſays, Right and irreſiſtible Power are all one. The Doctor, ſhews that, under Laws, the Magiſtrate can do no more, rightfully, than a private Perſon might do by the Law of Nature. As when a Magiſtrate kills a Thief, it is not

by virtue of a Power derived from the Thief, as one involved in the common Submiſſion; but he doth it in right of the injured Party, who, in the State of Nature, might rightfully have done the ſame. Therefore as particular Perſons, in the State of Nature, may do wrong; ſo when the Magiſtrate (though enabled as to Force under Laws) doth the like, he is equally a wrong Doer. And, for this Reaſon, the chief Magiſtrate, under Laws, may act as wickedly unjuſt, as a private Perſon, in a natural State, can be. Therefore it is a pernicious Opinion that the ſupreme Power can do no wrong, and countenanceth Tyranny, and eſpecially that of Aſſemblies who are moſt apt to call themſelves the People. The Doctor derided the Opinion that the eſtimate of pure Nature was to be taken from any Perſons adult, and educated in Corruption, and confirmed by Practice, howſoever lawleſſly jumbled together. All which bad Cuſtoms, reflecting upon pure Nature, vaniſh, leaving only Innocence in the room. And even his terrigenal Men would be void of Ambition, or Knowledge of Wants; for even Appetite is a Reſult of Experience. I do not remember much in his Notes of the Patriarchal or Theocratical Schemes of Government; perhaps they lay out of the Way of his Inquiſitions. He thought that adult Perſons were free from the Duty of filial Obedience; which is againſt the Patriarchal Scheme, and, as I take it, right Reaſon which makes that Duty co-equal with Life itſelf; for he, that hath a Life lent him, is a Debtor for it all the Days of his Life.

Some Singularities in his Humour.

I ſhall next touch upon ſome Singularities of the Doctor's Fancy and Humour, and ſome other Circumſtances relating to his Character and Studies; and ſo, paſſing over the diverſe Stages of his Life, as my Memory ſerves, defer what will be very melancholy as near the Cataſtrophy of this Deſign as I may. He was taken Notice of in the Univerſity for venting new Notions, as they are called, in his public Exerciſes; for which I might appeal to his Notes. But that is ſo ſorry a one that I ſhall lay no Streſs upon it; and muſt profeſs myſelf under no ſmall Concern that all his Books and Papers fell not into my Hands as thoſe did. It had been a ſhrewd Temptation to have ſnapt a Parole, or Truſt, prejudicial to no Account but of the Fire. But his Humour was to hold all within himſelf till he was entirely ſatisfied that no Slip, or Overſight, might give Diſadvantage to his Cauſe or himſelf; leſt any leſs guarded Words, or Expreſſions, ſhould eſcape him. Nothing could have ſecured him better in that Point, than the Participation of his Friends. In a Critic of Works, an Author hath but one Eye upon his own; but, upon anothers, he hath two, and Spectacles to boot. He was ſo deeply concerned for his Cauſe, as well as his own Eſteem, that he durſt not truſt even a Friend

Friend with either. And he had a Dread leſt this little Notebook, of which I have given an Account, might happen to ſtray and fall into unknown Perſons Hands, who poſſibly might miſconſtrue his Meaning. In Contemplation of which Contingent, he wrote upon it this pleaſant Imprecation; *I beſhrew his Heart, that gathers my Opinion from any Thing he finds wrote here.*

His perpetual Thoughtfulneſs, and withal, Diffidence.

He was always exceeding thoughtful, and full of Notions. He could not reſt from working upon his Deſigns, and, at the ſame Time, ſo diffident of the Event, that, between Impulſe and Deſpair, he was like *Mahomet* in his Tomb, or, as they ſay, *Eraſmus* hung. Deſpair had the greateſt Influence; and it ſat ſo hard upon his Spirits that he deſired rather to be utterly forgot, than that any Memorial of his Dealing in Literature ſhould remain to ſhew that ſuch a one as he exiſted, which ſhould not be Proof againſt the Teeth of the next Ages. After he had the Government of himſelf, he would not endure that a Picture ſhould be made of him, though he was much courted and invited by Sir *Peter Lely* to it. And, what was very odd, he would not leave the Print in his Bed, where he had lain, remain undefaced.

Florid Viſage, but weak Conſtitution.

As to his Perſon and Conſtitution, excepting only the agreeable Air of his Countenance, and florid Head of flaxen Hair, I have little to produce that may be commended. His Temperature of Body, and his auſtere Courſe of Life, were ill matched, and his Complection agreed with neither; for his Face was always tincted with a freſh Colour, and his Looks vegete and ſanguine, and, as ſome uſed to jeſt, his Features were ſcandalous, as ſhewing rather a Madam *entraveſtie*, than a Book-Worm. But his Fleſh was ſtrangely flaccid and ſoft, his going weak and ſhuffling, often croſſing his Legs as if he were tipſey; his ſleep ſeldom, or never, eaſy, but interrupted with unquiet and painful Dreams, the Repoſes he had were ſhort and by Snatches; his active Spirit, had rarely any perfect Settlement or reſt.

Inclined to the Stone, and addicted to forebode Extremes.

The Diſtempers, which moſt afflicted, or rather, frighted, him, were Gravel and Rheumes. The former held him in ſad Expectations moſt Part of his Life, and the other was moſt urgent towards his latter End; and, in Truth, were the Occaſion of his Death, as will be ſhewed afterwards. His worſt Indiſpoſition lay in his Mind, that is, an unhappy Tendency to believe that, in all Incidents and Emergencies, the worſt that in poſſibility might happen, would fall to his Share; and, accordingly, his Mind always lighted upon Extremes. He never had a Fit of the Stone in all his Life, but voided Plenty of red Gravel, which he was told was a Sympton that no Stone gathered. But that weighed little with him; for every Morning he ſpeculated his Urine, and, as the Uſe of ſplenetic Folks is, called Witneſſes to

ſee

ſee what Quantities of Gravel he voided. But ſuch are the Failings of ſedentary Perſons, and thoſe who paſs moſt of their Time alone. A Life of Action allows not Leiſure to dwell upon ſuch Reflections. But this Excuſe the Doctor had; his Father died a miſerable Martyr to the Stone; and many think that Diſeaſe, as well as the Gout, often goes from Father to Son: But the Doctor's Humour, in theſe Reſpects, was ſo extreme, that his Foreboding of Evils to come, often put him into real Paſſion. I have heard him, in almoſt agoniſing Concern, ſay that it was not Death that he feared, but a painful Life. I have hinted his corporal Infirmity before. He had not the Spirits of a good Conſtitution, ſuch as ſupport Men in Actions of perſonal Valour, and Contempt of Danger, though ſtaring them in the Face. He had a good Share of Philoſophy, but not enough to fill up that Blank in his Nature. If there be a State wherein Brutes have an Advantage over human Kind, it lies in their Neſcience of Evils to come, which protects them from anticipating Calamities, or, like Men, whether certain or uncertain, make them preſent by Imagination.

Great Cares about ſmall Matters, charged on his Nature.

It is certain he was overmuch addicted to thinking, or elſe he performed it with more Labour and Intenſeneſs than other Men ordinarily do; for, in the End, it will appear that he was a Martyr to Study. He ſcarce, ever allowed himſelf any Vacation; what he had, was forced upon him. There was no Undertaking, or, Occurrence, how trivial ſoever, whereof all the Circumſtances or Emergencies, that poſſibly might concern him, were not valued and revolved in his Mind, leſt he ſhould be ſo unhappy as to overſee any; as if meer Trifles had been cardinal to the Intereſts of his whole Life. If he was to ride to his Father's Houſe, walk to Church, or make any Viſit in Town, he was in Pain about the Contingents, and ſo low as to fret at the Fancy he had, that the People in the Street looked on him. He was in a Word, the moſt intenſe and paſſionate Thinker, that ever lived, and was in his right Mind. I may be here told that if I think, by theſe Deſcriptions, to exhibite the Pourtrait of a great Man, I am out of the Way; for what is leſs conſiſtent with ſuch a Character than ſuch Timidities. I anſwer that I am not giving the Pourtrait of a perfect Man; and whoever pretends ſo to do, is a foul Flatterer; and yet the Character, I give, is no ſmall one, becauſe of a ſingle Infirmity, natural and unavoidable. If any Man, however, in Name and Truth, great, did not labour under ſome unhappy Craſis of Body, of one Kind or other, which inclined him to tranſgreſs in the Decorum of his Actions, the Doctor had much to anſwer for in being ſo ſingular; but if it be (as certainly it is) otherwiſe, then all, that can be required of a wiſe and good Man, is to know his Foible, and ſtrive to correct it; and if he hold himſelf firm againſt all Manner of Corruption,

Corruption, which might grow up under it, and keeps down Scandal, he is completely abſolved.

His continual Art and Practice to amend himſelf.

That our Doctor was well intitled, under this Apology, I am fully ſatisfied. For, firſt, he underſtood himſelf, and all his peculiar Frailties, perfectly well. And his Friends could not ſhew him more of himſelf than he knew; and, if there was any Difference, the Weight fell on his Side who was ſenſible of more Foibles in his Nature than his Friends could obſerve. But they could perceive him often ſtrugling with himſelf to curb Exceſſes growing upon him; and he was either much overſeen, or ſurpriſed, when he ſhewed any extraordinary Concern or Paſſion. And in his Government of himſelf he ſucceeded ſo well that Strangers ſeldom, or never, perceived his Diſorders: But, among Friends, he was more off his Guard, and gave ſome Advantages againſt himſelf which ſerved for Raillery; and that never diſpleaſed him. And he uſed his Friends as Spies upon himſelf to diſcover his own Failings; and, for that End, uſed to be very ſharp upon the Company; and if any one, that he might be free with, had a ſore Place, he was ſure to give it ſome Rubs, and harder and harder, till they muſt needs feel, and then they fell to retaliating, which was his Deſire; often ſaying that he loved, between Jeſt and Earneſt, to tell People of their Faults, that they might pay him in the ſame Coin by telling him his own. A ſmall Degree of Acquaintance gave him an Inlet to this Kind of Sport; and he managed his Freedoms with ſuch fluent Wit and Reſpect, and with ſuch Decency of Behaviour that nothing was ever, on that Score, taken ill of him. But what imports all this to the Character of a Perſon honourable by Birth, and, not only ſtudious but, politely learned, and for his Religion, Juſtice, Sobriety and good Manners, unblameable; and one that laboured all his Life to make himſelf, in all Reſpects, better, and to amend whatever he found amiſs in himſelf; wherein he was not unſucceſsful? And that carries more of Merit, than Virtue it ſelf when there is no natural Impulſe, or Temptation to the Contrary.

His religious and moral Character.

It will not be amiſs to relate what I know of his Character more particularly. As to his Religion, his being in Prieſt's Orders ſpeaks him to be of the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law; although that Rule hath, of late, undergone many ſcandalous Exceptions. But he was critically orthodox and ſincere, as the whole Series of his Life and Actions plainly demonſtrated. And his Zeal was never more exaſperated than againſt Men buſy in diſturbing the orderly Exerciſe of pure Chriſtianity amongſt us; eſpecially in our Church, within the Pale of which, Iniquity itſelf could not find a plauſible Scruple either on Account of Doctrine or Diſcipline; for the ſuſtaining of which

which his Mind was chiefly at work. And to ſhew his Conſcientiouſneſs herein, I ſhall relate one Paſſage. Sir *John Cuts* of *Childerſley*, a Relation of his, knowing that the Doctor uſed to touch an Organ, and, for that Purpoſe, had one in his Chamber, which was borrowed, and not his own, very generouſly offered to make him a Preſent of one that had ſtood in his Houſe, but never, to any one's Knowledge, made Uſe of. The Doctor poſitively refuſed it, although, in a free Circumſtance, he could have been glad of a Preſent ſo ſeaſonable to him as that was. And he told me his Reaſon was, that the Room, where the Organ ſtood, was called the Chapel; and he ſuppoſed the Inſtrument had been intended for religious Service, and probably, at ſome Time, made Uſe of accordingly. And he ſaid to me that *others might think of thoſe Matters as they pleaſed; but he had, and ever ſhould have, a great Regard to them.* He was ſo very nice that he could not bear that any Religion, no, not a falſe one, ſhould be ridiculed, and ſcarce allowed the Prophet's Direction in deriding *Baal's* Prieſts. For falſe Religions are Evidences of the true; and if Deriſion be put in common Practice againſt the one, it will ſoon be perverted upon the other. I need not, to complete his Character, add any Thing of his perſonal Virtues, ſuch as Probity, Temperance, Chaſtity, common Honeſty and Juſtice. His Enviers (for Enemies he had none) had never any Colour to inſinuate any Thing to his Diſadvantage. In ſhort; Religion, Juſtice, Probity, and Humanity were his Study, Delight, and Practice.

Averſe to Faction, and preferred abſolute Monarchy to a Democracy.

As to the Public, which, in his Time, began to be muddled with Faction that, through the Careleſsneſs of our Government, had got Ground, and the artificial Cry of Popery and arbitrary Power ſounded loud in all Corners, he ſhewed an utter Deteſtation of the Faction and their Rabble, and could not but be angry when he heard what Trouble they created to the State at that Time. He was well appriſed of the Hiſtory of the, then, late Troubles, and thought the like in Danger to be repeated. He declaimed againſt all the Proceedings, however popular, tending that Way, as no leſs than the Actions of ſtolid Brutes, void of Thought, and Foreſight of Conſequences, that hurry themſelves into Perdition and Ruin. Brute Beaſt indeed (meaning the Populace) but it hath Horns and Hoofs; therefore ſtand clear. But it hath neither Eyes nor Ears to any Purpoſe but finding the ſhorteſt Cut to Confuſion and Deſtruction of itſelf and every Thing elſe that ſtands in it's Way. And the Caſe is not at all mended by a Set of fine Appellatives; for Hypocriſy is commonly varniſhed with the like. The Doctor, as I ſhewed, had been a notable Student in the Qualities of Powers in Government, and really thought that of the two Extremes, abſolute Monarchy, or pure Democracy, the former was incomparably

to be preferred; and ſince Exorbitances will grow up in all Governments, the Rule of one hath fewer, and thoſe leſs oppreſſive, than that of many. The great Fault of Monarchy is that it cannot be pure Monarchy, but muſt be aſſiſted in Government by many, as Counſellors, Miniſters, *&c.* and ſtill of thoſe the fewer the better, even to a ſingle Viceroy, if he can well act the Monarch. Solemn Councils are formal and hypocritical; and the beſt Counſel is taken of a ſudden, as Things offer. He uſed to ſay, that the Arguments againſt Monarchy were taken from the Examples of bad Kings. But who called up the Examples of bad Republics? To the little Finger of one of them the Loins of a Monarch were light. And weighing the Happineſs of People in general, there is no Compariſon between thoſe which have been under Monarchies, and thoſe under Republics: So much do the former exceed. The Grievances under Monarchy fall moſtly upon ambitious troubleſome Grandees, who are made amends by the Advantages they have in high Places. But all that while the People have their Eaſe and Quiet; and in that one ſingle Article of ſuppreſſing civil War, the People, who are ſeldom undone any other, but moſt frequently that, Way, are more than adequately compenſated for all the Evils of Monarchy that Speechmakers can ſuggeſt. The Doctor was often copious in his Diſcourſes upon theſe Subjects, and uſed to toſs and tumble over his *Grecian* Republics, under which no honeſt good Man could ſerve, and not be ungratefully uſed, and finally deſtroyed. He had a juſt Value for the temperate Government of his own Country, and abhorred, as he did the Devil and his Angels, all thoſe troubleſome Folks that laboured, by altering, to make it worſe, and ſo finally to enſlave the People.

His moſt rigid and auſtere Courſe of Life as Maſter of *Trinity College.*

But now I muſt withdraw from Speculation into actual Practice of Government, I mean that of our Doctor, as Maſter of *Trinity College.* This Preferment took him, partly, from his Studies, but almoſt entirely out of thoſe Advantages, which by a few Friends he enjoyed: That is from a frequent, eaſy, free, and pleaſant Converſation, into an anxious, ſolitary, and penſive Courſe of Life; which, with his auſtere Way of ordering himſelf, drew upon him a moſt deplorable Sickneſs; and that proved the Ruin of all his Powers both of Body and Mind, and then, by a ſlow, painful Gradation, laid him down in the Arms of everlaſting Reſt. This Track will lead me to conſider the Doctor now, not as a private Perſon but, as a Magiſtrate, and in the Exerciſe of no ſlight Charge. He wanted the nervous Capacity of his immediate Predeceſſor Dr. *Barrow*, who was moulded for indefatigable Labour; but he, on the contrary, was frail and infirm, and of a Nature that needed Recruits, and, to reinſtate its Forces, ſome Meaſures of Indulgence. He was temperate and regular, and, at

Chapel

Chapel and Meals, lived by the Rule of his College. He kept a good Table, and always invited ſome of the Fellows and Fellowcommoners to dine with him; and all was well but as touching the Bottle, which he would not ſuffer to be too many for them. But if his Line had been a little extended that Way, it would have produced Freedoms, and diſperſed thoſe cloudy Formalities which will fall between a Superior and Inferiors, unleſs the Nerve is cut with the Glaſs, and Humour hath a free Play. He wanted nothing more than a free Society. The State (if I may ſo term it) of a Maſter of a College is ſuch that he can ſcarce look out, or make a Viſit, but with Attendance and Form; and, in his College, all are upon their Guard where he is, and very few, if any, were thought capable of a true and familiar Friendſhip that is clear of all Deſign or Project. He was always diſpoſed to be free enough; but it never works well between Inferiors and Superiors. He had not learnt the Art of ſome Perſons well preferred; I mean to be careful of himſelf, and to uſe the Means of long Life, in Order to make the moſt of what is fallen to their Share. Nor is it expected that one, in his Place, ſhould have put himſelf, as he did, under all the Severities of a College Life. But he conſidered that, having the Charge of maintaining the Diſcipline and Order of the College, his Demeanour there was not his own to diſpoſe of, but dedicated for Example to others, and that he ought to perform ſtrictly, in his own Perſon, all that, by a common Rule, he required of the Scholars under him: Eſpecially in keeping Chapel, wherein he never (willingly) failed; not in Winter nor Summer, whatever the Seaſon, or how early ſoever the Time was. Nothing but a Sence of Duty could have made him ſwerve from the Intereſts of his Health. And I am very well aſſured that he laid to Heart, as they ſay, the Good of the Society, and his Duty regarding it, againſt which he ſlighted all Conſiderations relating to himſelf.

His Solicitude for good Order and Juſtice in Elections.

There are ſome I have known, who make ſuch Truſts no Incumbrance at all; but let Things paſs as they may, and take little Care but of their Profits. But our Doctor's Principle was very different; and that being derived upon a ſtrict Integrity, could not be reconciled to the perfunctory; but he thought himſelf bound to be active, as well in keeping down Diſorders, always apt to riſe under him, as alſo to ſee Juſtice done to all the Scholars. And in particular, he was reſolute in adhering to the Statutes of the College, and to ſee that Elections went fairly; and, in the Buſineſs of Fellowſhips, that created him no ſmall Trouble. Every one knows that the Pupilmongers, often Senior Fellows, who were his Co-adjutors, would favour good Pupils, though perhaps no good Scholars, in order to get them into good Fellowſhips, when others had better Pretenſions. This

bred Intereſt making, and, for the moſt Part, brought Importunities upon him; as if, by teeſing and urging, Points might be gained. All which Partialities were faſtidious and hateful to him that had none, and whatever Impetuoſity he endured, he never would conſent to have a Dunce preferred to a good Scholar when the Standing was equal; but always declared to do Juſtice to whom, upon Account of better Merit, it belonged. Theſe were not ſlight Cares to him that uſed to create great ones out of ſlighter Occaſions,

Trouble about *Mandates* obviated by Pre-elections.

The Court *Mandates* for Elections were very irkſome to him. He knew well how thoſe Favours, by Means of Courtiers, were obtained; and often ſuſpected that ſome of his Seniors, when they could not compaſs their Will of him another Way, were inſtrumental in obtaining them. And he uſed to inveigh bitterly againſt that Practice, declaring that whoever of them was guilty of it did not conſider their Duty and their Oaths; and that it muſt, in Time, bring the College to nothing; for if Elections are for Favour and not Merit, who will think of riſing by any Means but Courtſhip or Corruption? And then Flattery, or Money, muſt ſupply Want of Parts, Learning and Sobriety; and the College, once ſo filled, will continue and avow the ſame Methods: Whereby Gentlemen's Sons in the College, under the Influence of ſuch a Regimen, will be expoſed to the Miſchiefs of Idleneſs, Expence, and Debauchery, ſpreading in the Univerſity, as bad as in any lewd Corporation Town. It is a common Unhappineſs, that whoever oppoſes growing Corruptions and Abuſes in Societies ſhall have Enemies enough. And no Vexation of him be left uninflicted, that might be raiſed up againſt a common Enemy; and ſo *Hornets*, when diſturbed, become impertinent, and endeavour to ſting. As for the *Mandates*, I believe they were too hard for him that had as good an Appetite to diſobey them, as to his Meals at high Noon: But inſtead of that, and to eaſe his Mind a little (for he lived in perpetual dread of *Mandates)* but principally for the Good of the College, he found out a Way, by Pre-elections, to obviate an Inconvenience he could not reſiſt. And thereupon, out of the ſeveral Years, four or five one under another, he cauſed to be pre-elected into Fellowſhips Scholars of the beſt Capacities in the ſeveral Years; which made it improbable another Election ſhould come about in ſo many Years then next enſuing; for, until all theſe Elections were benefitted, there could be no Vacancy. And that broke the Courſe of *Mandates* whilſt he lived. The Doctor was ſolicitous about nothing more than the Buſineſs of Elections, which he thought the Spring of Good and Evil to the College, and (as he thought) in ſome Degree, to the Public.

He

He had Occaſion enough to exerciſe all his Philoſophy; for without any Thing elſe to make him uneaſy, a Diſpoſition in the Scholars to make him uneaſy had been ſufficient. He had firſt laid down his own Example of Regularity and Sobriety before them, which ought to have inclined them; and after that done and continuing, he thought it his Duty to be informed, as well as might be, of what was outragiouſly amiſs amongſt them. He never connived at any Thing whereof, by the Duty of his Place, he was bound to take Notice; but, either by Admonition or otherwiſe, he did his beſt to amend it. He endeavoured alſo to make the Diſcipline of the College as light and eaſy to the Scholars as he could, by uſing private Intimations, and friendly Advices tempered with mild Reaſonings and Perſuaſion. But, for all that, he grew unpopular amongſt them. They took him to be over officiouſly rigid and ſtrict, ſaying, *it had not been ſo before.* Youth will always miſtake Manhood to conſiſt wholly in diſorderly Living, and that Order and Diſcipline belongs only to Boys. And, to ſhew how much Men they are, they behave themſelves, as ſome did to him, Contumaciouſly, and many of them contrived to affront him. I have heard it ſaid, but not credibly, that one Night, as he was walking in the Cloiſter, ſome Lads, merry making in an oppoſite Chamber, and fancying he came there to ſpy what was doing, came down and uſed him ill; but I never heard him ſpeak of it, as he did of moſt Things that concerned him; nor did he make any Enquiry about it, as he would have done, to diſcourage ſuch Affronts; therefore I do not believe the Story to be true. This I was a Witneſs of. One Winter Night, whilſt we ſat in his dining Room by the Fire, the Chimney being oppoſite to the Windows (looking into the great Quadrangle) a Stone was ſent from the Court, through the Window, into the Room, and fell but a little ſhort of the Company. He ſeemed to take but little Notice. We gueſſed him to be inwardly vexed; and ſoon after the Diſcourſe fell upon the Subject of People's kicking againſt their Superiors in Government, who preſerves them as Children are preſerved by Parents; and then he had a Scrole of Inſtances out of *Greek* Hiſtory to the ſame Purpoſe, concluding that no conſcientious Magiſtrate can be popular; but, in lieu of that, he muſt arm himſelf with Equanimity.

Thought over rigorous, became unpopular and affronted.

When the Doctor entered upon the Maſterſhip of *Trinity College*, the Building of the great Library, begun by his immediate Predeceſſor Dr. *Barrow*, was advanced about three Quarters of the Height of the outward Wall; and the Doctor moſt heartily and diligently applied his beſt Forces towards carrying it on; and, beſides his own Contributions, moſt of his Friends and Relations, upon his Encouragement, became Benefactors; the Particulars whereof will appear in the

The Building of the Library and the Occaſion.

Accounts of that noble Structure. The Tradition of this Undertaking runs thus. They ſay that Dr. *Barrow* preſſed the Heads of the Univerſity to build a Theatre; it being a Profanation and Scandal that the Speeches ſhould be had in the Univerſity Church, and that alſo be deformed with Scaffolds, and defiled with rude Crouds and Outcries. This Matter was formally conſidered at a Council of the Heads; and Arguments of Difficulty, and want of Supplies went ſtrong againſt it. Dr. *Barrow* aſſured them that if they made a ſorry Building, they might fail of Contributions; but if they made it very magnificent and ſtately, and, at leaſt, exceeding that at *Oxford*, all Gentlemen, of their Intereſt, would generouſly contribute; it being what they deſired, and little leſs than required of them; and Money would not be wanted as the Building went up, and Occaſion called for it. But ſage Caution prevailed, and the Matter, at that Time, was wholly laid aſide. Dr. *Barrow* was piqued at this Puſillanimity, and declared that he would go ſtraight to his College, and lay out the Foundations of a Building to enlarge his back Court, and cloſe it with a ſtately Library, which ſhould be more magnificent and coſtly than what he had propoſed to them, and doubted not but, upon the Intereſt of his College, in a ſhort Time, to bring it to Perfection. And he was as good as his Word; for that very Afternoon he, with his Gardiners and Servants, ſtaked out the very Foundation upon which the Building now ſtands; and Dr. *North* ſaw the Finiſhing of it, except the Claſſes, which were forward, but not done, in his Time; and diverſe Benefactions came in upon that Account; wherewith, and the liberal Supply from the College, the whole is rendered complete; and the admirable Diſpoſition and Proportion on the Inſide is ſuch as touches the very Soul of any one who firſt ſees it.

The Differences between the Doctor and his eight Seniors, and how.

I mentioned before ſome Uneaſineſſes between the Doctor and his Seniors about Elections; and ſince thoſe Matters ſunk deep in his Mind, and ſome have thought fit in Print to refer to them, I ſhall relate all I know, or have credibly heard, of that Matter. There was much of Contingency in what happened; for two Maſters, *Pearſon* and *Barrow*, preceded our Doctor, and both being more addicted to Books than Buſineſs or Government, were contented the eight Seniors ſhould determine Affairs, and, at Meetings, readily joined in what they agreed. This Eaſineſs had bred a Sort of Expectation that what the Seniors had predetermined about Elections, Leaſes, *&c.* ſhould paſs current; it being enough to make the Maſter acquainted, or to ſhew him their Opinions. But our Doctor did not underſtand this Method of Proceeding, and conſulted his own Reaſon, and would be guided by that, and that only, whatever the reſt thought; for he looked upon himſelf as one entruſted, and bound by Duty and Oath to act for the

the Good of the College, and, for that, was anſwerable to his own Conſcience; and nothing, but reaſoning, and convincing his Judgment, would induce him to comply. This Behaviour ſeemed a little new to them, who had been uſed ſo much to dictate as ſcarce to endure Contradiction; and they uſed all Means, civil and uncivil, to reduce this Maſter under the like Reglement as the former. It is hard to alledge this extraordinary Conduct, and to reſt it upon pure Parole; therefore I ſhall add one Inſtance of Fact, which the Doctor himſelf told me. Once at a Meeting, the Seniors had agreed upon a Buſineſs; but the Maſter did not think fit to join with them to eſtabliſh it. They moſt importunately urged; as if their unanimous Accord were Reaſon enough to ſatisfy him. But it was all one; he thought it unreaſonable, and poſitively refuſed to concur. At laſt one of them ſaid, *Maſter, ſince you will not agree, we muſt riſe and break up the Meeting.* *Nay,* ſaid the Maſter, *that you ſhall not do, for I myſelf will riſe and be gone firſt.* And, accordingly, he roſe and went into his Chamber, leaving them in a ſort of Conſternation; for they knew that, without their Maſter, they could do nothing at all. After a while, they thought fit to drop their Huff, and, in a proper Manner, ſent and deſired him to return to them; which he did, and they went on with other Buſineſs.

By Weakneſs diſabled to contend.

I never heard him mention any other Sort of Affront, done to his Face, but this; and it ſeemed to grieve him, becauſe it was during his Weakneſs, of which I am about to give an Account; for while he was vegete and ſtrong, he could contend, and ſuſtain his Authority by the Force of his Reaſons; and thoſe he never failed to beſtow fluently: But after his firſt attack from the Fit, his Body was weak, and his Utterance imperfect, and, what was worſt of all, Paſſions apt to riſe in him, which cauſed his Epileptic Fits to return; whereby he was diſabled as to all ſerious Debate and Contention. And I do believe that too much Advantage was taken of his Weakneſs; for, being near his End, he ordered that he ſhould be buried in the outward Chapel, that the Fellows might *trample upon him dead, as they had done living.* This was ſpoke in the Anguiſh of his Mind, when he could judge, and would be juſt; but wrangle he neither would nor could, becauſe of the hideous Conſequences; and poſſibly ſome Things might paſs, in his Abſence, contrary to his Mind, and on ſuch Occaſions he uſed to throw out ſuch tragical Speeches. But we are a little too early for ſuch melancholy Notes.

His Severities to himſelf encreaſed, and his Want of Society.

I am next to give in the Hiſtory of the Doctor's fatal Sickneſs, ſo often touched upon, with the preſumed Occaſion, Acceſſion, and Concluſion; and what ſhould that be but, the End of all Things, Death? I have already accounted for his thoughtful and ſtudious

Courſe

Courſe of Life, and habitual Fulneſs and Care in his Mind. But, after he came into a Poſt of Magiſtracy, all his Solicitudes exaſperated, and the ordinary Refreſhments, which he ſometimes met with before, failed. And I muſt add, that as his Courſe of Life, ſo his Diet was ſevere to himſelf; for he was always ſober and temperate, and ſcarce ſpared the Time of eating from thinking. After Morning Prayer, and a ſolitary Diſh of Coffee, he retired to his Study at the End of a Gallery; and there he was faſt till Noon, unleſs College, or Univerſity Affairs called him out. After his Meals, a meagre Diſh of Tea, and then again to his Poſt, till Chapel and Supper; and then, if he had any friendly Converſation, it was ſtill in a ſtudious Way, that is diſcourſing of abſtruſe Matters, which, however pleaſant to him, kept his Head at work. His chief Remiſſions were when ſome of his neareſt Relations were with him, or he with them, and then, as they ſay, he was wholefooted; but this was not often, nor long together. Some of them uſed to be free with him, and, in his own Way, between Jeſt and Earneſt, tell him he muſt indulge a little, go abroad, and be free with a Glaſs of Wine, with good Company, in his College, as he uſed to be with them; that his Self-denials would endanger his Health, and the like. To which ſort of Diſcourſe I have heard him return a Tradition of Biſhop *Wren*, who, when he was told he muſt not keep Lent, his Body would not bear it. *Will it not*, ſaid he? *Then it is no Body for me.* And the Doctor, by his Life of perpetual thinking, had ſettled his Mind in a Reſolution ſo ſtiff that he often ſeemed rather moroſe and humourſome than, as his conſtant Profeſſion was, to be governed by Reaſon. When his Friends have been importunate with him to ſay (in the common Forms of free Converſe) *Why? And for what Reaſon?* He hath anſwered, *Reaſon is to govern me, but my Will is a Reaſon to every Body elſe.*

Afflicted with Rheums and his *Uvula* ſwelling.

It was very remarkable that nothing of any Evil, which the Doctor at any Time in his Life feared, ever came upon him; but ſomewhat elſe, and of which he had no Imagination or Dream, and indeed the worſt, I think, that could befall human Kind; that is to be paralytic and Epileptic. If, in his anticipating Mind, a Thought had entered that he had been obnoxious to thoſe Diſtempers, I cannot ſay how he would have comported under it; for nothing could come nearer the Quick with him than a Diſtemper that inſulted his Faculties of Reaſoning and Judgment, wherein his Mind muſt ſuffer as well as his Body. The Diſtemper came upon him by theſe Steps; *Firſt*, a Cold, then an unuſual Quantity of Rheum diſcharged at his Throat, and the tonſil Glands ſwelled, and, at length, his *Uvula*; and, as the Courſe of theſe Colds is, a deal of ſpitting, and venting of Rheum at his Mouth, followed. Here is nothing extraordinary but, what happeneth

happeneth in Colds, and being aſſiſted with warm Humectations and Repoſe, the Diſeaſe itſelf, allowing Time for it, makes the Cure: And what could be done more reaſonably than to encourage that proper Diſcharge of a peccant Humour which Nature itſelf, and in the Way of a common Catarrh, had found out. But that, which moſt concerned the Doctor, was the Swelling of his *Uvula*, which, continuing over long, gave him, that always anticipated Extremes, an Apprehenſion that he muſt, at length, ſubmit to have it cut off. And this Operation was ſo dreadful to him, that, to prevent it, he muſt needs apply to the moſt noted Phyſicians in the Univerſity; and they conſidered the Caſe, and preſcribed as they thought proper. But their Endeavours ſucceeded not, but, in all Appearance (if any Judgment may be made by Events) proved the Ruin of their Patient. And this may be a Warning not to ſeek extraordinary Remedies in ordinary Caſes.

Remedies, Amber Smoak and aſtringent Powders.

I fear that, in my Report of this Caſe, I may offend the medical Faculty; but I am not free to ſuppreſs, or palliate, Matters of Fact which were of the laſt Concern to my Subject. If one may be ſo free to interpoſe a Cenſure, their Fault (if any was) lay in meddling at all, and not ſending the good Man home to his Mother to be nurſt. But, inſtead of that, partly, as I gueſs, to humour him, and, partly, to put in Practice their Univerſity Learning, fell in *peſle meſle* with their Preſcriptions to divert this Flow of Rheum from diſcharging at his Throat and Mouth, and to ſend it another Way. But firſt, as they ſaid, the Cauſe muſt be removed; which was to be done by rectifying his Digeſtions, that Rheums might not breed ſo copiouſly; and then they might ſafely ſtop the Vent. And in Order to this, a circulatory Courſe (as they called it) of Phyſic was preſcribed, enough to have purged a ſtrong Man from off his Legs; and the Doctor moſt ſcrupulouſly conformed; For he had a great Regard to all Kinds of Univerſity Learning, and believed that of Phyſic to have more logical Concluſions, in Order to Cures, than their own Faculty, elſewhere, will allow them. After this Career performed, the Preſcription was to take Amber, as Tobacco, in Pipes, and to have certain aſtringent Powders, in Quills, blown into his Mouth upon his *Uvula*. The unctuous Smoak, of the one, joined with, and held, the other ſo faſt that nothing might paſs in or out that Way. It was not conſidered all this while that the Patient, with his Cathartic Courſes, was grown ſo weak and feeble that, in all likelihood, Rheums muſt breed in his Body rather than abate.

Went to *London*, and reduced to a Skeleton.

But they had a reſigned Patient to themſelves, than whom a tamer Subject, to make Experiments upon, could not have been found. It is certain that, by theſe Methods of Phyſic, Smoak and Powder, the Doctor was reduced to extreme Weakneſs, and, finding no Amend-

ment, ventured to come up to his Friends in *London*. They knew nothing of his having been ill; for, in his Letters, he complained of nothing but a Cold he had got. They were amaſed to ſee him come helmeted in Caps upon Caps, and meagre as one newly crope out of a Fever. His Regimen was no leſs changed than his Habit and Countenance. He muſt ſtir little abroad, and, for the World, not after Sunſet, though it was *July*, (which was the only Time of his Friends Refreſhment abroad) for fear of encreaſing his Rheums. He muſt drink nothing ſmall, nor much of any Thing. Grapes, and Peaches, being full of Humidity, were Poiſon; but Nuts, and dry Bread toaſted, without Stint; and all the while, at fit Periods, the Pipes and Powders came; and one or other muſt blow for him. His Friends had no Notion of this latter Medicament; nor, as I gueſs, his Phyſicians; otherwiſe they had not preſcribed, nor we ſuffered the Continuance of it. After the Doctor's Death, I told the Caſe and Method to Dr. *Lower*, the Prime Phyſician of his Time, and he ſaid that he would undertake, by the ſmoak of Amber only, to put the ſoundeſt Man in the World into Convulſion Fits.

By Diet and Friends wonderfully recovered in a Month.

The Doctor's Friends, having all this wonderful Alteration before them to obſerve, concluded him gone of the Spleen, and that the beſt Phyſic, for him, was Society, plentiful Diet, and turning abroad in the Air when we could get him ſo to do; and not without perpetual Raillery at his Caps and new Diſcipline ſo contrary to what he was always uſed to. Upon this Account he was taken down to *Hammerſmith*, a Country-ſeat of his beſt Brother's; and in the Space of a Month from his firſt coming up, purely by his coming into his Friends Way of living, between *London* and the Country, a perfect Cure of him was made; and he made no ſcruple of eating, drinking, and airing as they did. His Volumns of Caps were diſbanded; his Countenance grew florid, and his ordinary Briſkneſs and good Humour returned to him. Thus (under God) by pure Relaxation and Diet (all Medecines apart) this egregious Cure was wrought. In this State he returned to his College, with good Counſel enough to indulge as he had done with us; and, for Doctors, to uſe only the famous three, *Diet*, *Quiet*, *and Merriman*. But, as to his Amber and Powders, which he cared not to leave wholly off, his Friends pretended not to judge of them, but thought them to be Whims of the Phyſicians, and, as Chips, neither evil, nor very good.

Dropt Apoplectic, in admoniſhing two Scholars.

After the Doctor was returned to his College, his Rigors to himſelf, and auſtere Courſe of Life alſo, returned; and his Rheumes beginning again to flow, by like Advice as before, Cathartic, Amber, and Powder, were reiterated in full Force; and all without the leaſt Regard to that ſucceſsful Experiment that was made upon him in *London*.

London. So that his Body growing weaker and weaker, and his Diſeaſe ſtronger, the Humour, having no Vent at his Mouth, as it naturally tended (for all thoſe Parts were cloſed) broke out in his Brain; and threw him down all at once in a deſperate Apoplexy. The Manner of its Acceſs was this. The Maſter and Seniors thought fit to revive an antiquated Diſcipline, according to the Statutes, of admoniſhing diſorderly Scholars, in Order (without Amendment) to Expulſion; and in the Morning the Doctor came out from the Meeting (where probably he had been a little roiled) to perform his Duty upon two Scholars then brought to be admoniſhed: And it was obſerved that he admoniſhed with more than uſual Earneſtneſs and Acrimony in his Speech; for the Lads were much to blame, and behaved themſelves very contumaciouſly. When the Body is weak, Paſſion is uſually ſtrong, and diverſe Things concurred to ſtir it up in him, which probably touched the Trigger, and, while he was ſpeaking, down he dropt. It is poſſible that, without theſe Circumſtances of Emotion of his Spirits, this had not happened at that Time; but then it is more than likely that on ſome more unhappy Place, or Occaſion, as preaching, or in ſome other ſolemn Preſence, the like had happened; but here it was almoſt at his Bedchamber Door. He was immediately taken up, wherein the two Scholars were very aſſiſtant, and carried to his Bed, there being little Hopes of Life in him. But the Phyſicians were immediately ſent for, and due Methods were uſed as in Caſes of Apoplexies.

Not dead, kept from ſleep, but his Mother extorted it to a lively Effect.

After the ordinary tormenting Operations were over, he recovered a little Senſe, but was exceſſive drouſy; and it was judged that, unleſs that Symptom could be conquered, he muſt drop from them. Whereupon, by Direction, followed perpetual Noiſe and Clangor, of one ſort or other, to keep him awake. There was Conſort of Tongs, Firegrate, Wainſcote Drum, and dancing of Curtains and Curtain Rings, ſuch as would have made a ſound Man mad. It was preſumed that, if he fell aſleep, he would never wake more; ſo his Inſtruments were plied until his good Mother (who was immediately ſent for) came to take Care of him. She was a magnanimous Lady, that had nurſt a large Family, old and young, for diverſe Years, and, in Experience, was more than a Match for a College of Phyſicians. She ſaw in what Torment her Son lay drouſy to Death, and gave Attention to what the Phyſicians ſaid; but all the while admired the Muſick they made. She deſired of the Phyſicians that her Son might have a little Sleep. *No, Madam*, ſaid they, *for, if he ſleeps yet, he will never wake again.* The good Lady had no longer Patience, but ſet up her maternal Authority, and told them flat and plain that her Son ſhould have Reſt, and that quietly, for full two Hours, and ſhe would anſwer

ſwer the Conſequences. He was her Son, and ſhe would have the Nurſing of him. Thereupon ſhe diſmiſſed the Muſicians, and deſired the learned and unlearned (for there were many Eveſdroppers and News carriers in the Room) to withdraw and leave her. She kept with her only the Maid ſhe brought; and they two went to work, ordered the Bed, and laid the poor Patient in ſuch a Poſture as ſhe thought moſt proper for his taking Reſt; and then, ſending her Maid to wait without, ſhe ſat herſelf down at the Bed's Head, and all was huſh for the full Time. Sometimes ſhe peeped in upon him, and found no Reaſon to retrench any Part of it. After this ſhe opened the Curtains, and called in the Phyſicians, and the reſt that had a Mind to be there, and ſhewed them how eaſy and quietly he lay, and breathing as Nature required. His Countenance had a good Colour, and his Face was compoſed, which, before, was diſtorted in diverſe Manners with his Eyes ſtaring like one of the Furies. *Now, Doctors,* ſaid ſhe, *what think ye? But Madam,* ſaid one, *will he wake? You ſhall ſee,* ſaid ſhe, and gently jogging him by the Arm as he lay, he woke, and, opening his Eyes, knew ſeveral there and ſpoke to them. The Phyſicians were exceedingly ſurpriſed; for they expected great Difficulty in waking him, and had been conſulting of Methods how to do it.

Left in a numb Palſey and his Notions.

Now the Mine was fired, and all the Havock it could make upon a poor mortal Bulwark of animated Earth determined; and what remained was only Ruin and Confuſion as the Blaſt had left it; never to be recovered into it's former Order and Strength again. The Fit went off, but left the Doctor under an Inflict̃ion of a deſperate numb Palſey all on one Side of him; which the learned call an *Hemiplagia.* He kept his Bed for ſome conſiderable Time before he ventured to riſe; and then was able, only with Help of a Friend and a Crutch, to crawl a little about the Room. His Mouth and Face was drawn up on the lame Side, and his left Arm and Leg altogether enervous; and neither did him much Service as long as he lived. But, in Time, the weak Leg ſerved juſt to lean on, while the other got a little forwards; but itſelf was dragged after. He dropt his Crutch, but never ventured to walk far, without Help at, or near, his Elbow. He told me the Images in his Mind, during this Inflict̃ion, as far as he could remember them. Firſt, during his admoniſhing, he perceived himſelf to lean towards his left Side; and the Leg, that ſhould have ſuſtained him, ſeemed to have loſt it's Bone, and to be like the Finger of a Glove; by which it was plain to him that he muſt fall, and accordingly he gave Way to it. After this he remembered nothing at all of what had happened to him, until, by help of his Mother, he had taken a little Reſt. And then, in a dreaming Manner, his Conceit was

that

that he had got a ſtrange Leg in Bed with him, and was much perplexed which Way to get rid of it; whether he ſhould call to have it taken away or not: And it was a great while before he could bring himſelf, even awake, to own it.

The prodigious Declination of the Doctor's Mind to Levities.

It is an uneaſy Taſk, but (according to the Profeſſion I make of Truth for better or worſe) neceſſary, to ſhew the miſerable Decay of the Doctor's thinking and memorial Capacities. What is the Difference between Manhood and Puerility, but that the former hath a large Stock of uſeful Memoirs, and alſo Strength habituated to Action; which the latter wanting, runs after Levities, and any Thing for Variety, without Choice, unleſs Appetite or Inclination (and even that flows from Experience) draws it? Suppoſe an Hurricane to fall upon a ſound Man's Memory, and obliterate great Part of his Collections, and confuſe the reſt, as one may imagine a fine Poem wrote upon the Sands, and much ruffled by the Wind. There may be enough left to ſhew it had been good Sence, but the Dignity of the Verſe was loſt. So the Man would loſe his Judgment of true Values, and relapſe into a ſort of Puerility; but ſtill his moral Character, that is, his Will to do Good or Evil, remains unaltered. This was the Caſe of our good Doctor. The Seat of his Memory was ruffled by the Diſeaſe falling upon his Brain and Nerves, which had made ſuch Havock that he had no firm Notion of himſelf, or of any Thing; but had his Experience to gather, and his Underſtanding to frame over again. After he could lie awake and think, I gueſs he had ſome Reflection that he had been over ſevere with himſelf by too much hard Study and Abſtemiouſneſs, which, poſſibly, had brought that Diſeaſe over him; and then fancied he muſt cure himſelf by a Courſe clean contrary; and accordingly he thought that now he muſt be merry and jolly. Purſuant to this (conjectured) Model, the Company, that aſſiſted about his Bed to entertain him, muſt find merry Tales to tell, and if a little ſmutty, the Mirth paid for it. The lighter Sort of Books, and frivolous Comedies, were read to him, and he heard them with notable Attention, and, at the quaint Paſſages, was unuſually affected, and often laughed, but (as his Viſage was then diſtorted) moſt deformly. He fancied to admit a young Gentleman of the College, one Mr. *Warren*, to be his Reader in ordinary, who was very uſeful during his Weakneſs, and deſerves to be remembered with much Reſpect.

That continued ſometime after he left his Bed.

After he was enfranchiſed from his Bed, and had the Entertainment they call walking about his Chamber, and diverſe Friends and Acquaintance came and ſtaid with him, he gathered ſome little Strength. But his Levities ſtill continued; and he uſed to pleaſe himſelf with rehearſing paltry Rhymes and Fables; and what with Difficulty of Utterance

Utterance (for his Speech was touched and never perfectly recovered) and what with his unſeemly laughing, it was long before he could get any Thing well out; and at laſt he made but broken Stuff of it. All this was inexpreſſible Grief and Mortification to his Friends, ſeeing that diſmal Alteration. They had known his Genius bright, and, in his Health, ſolemn, grave, and inſtructive; and his Mirth, when it happened, not without a Flow of pleaſant Wit, and, as it ought to be, ever decent and without Offence; far from all Suſpicion of a Poſſibility that ſuch Levity of Humour and Diſcourſe ſhould ever appear in him. He ſeemed as an high flying Fowl with one Wing cut; the Creature offers to fly, and knows no Cauſe why he ſhould not, but always comes, with a ſide Turn, down to the Ground. The Doctor had ſome Remembrances of his former Forces, when he could mount up and fly; now, his Inſtruments, on one Side, failing him, he was forced to deal in low Concerns, and reptile Conceits that ſcarce roſe from the Ground.

Epileptic Fits followed the Palſey, which brought him to his Grave.

The Doctor lived to recover his Faculties of Mind, and Powers of his Body, in ſome Meaſure; and had it not been for one immenſe Malady that attended the Palſey, and held him down, there had been Hopes of a competent Recovery; and that Malady was Epileptic Fits. Theſe appeared ſoon after the Apoplexy went off. They were gentle at firſt, but continually invigorated, and every one of them gave him a Twitch nearer his Grave. And theſe were eſteemed the Reſult of Amber Smoak. There happen many Apoplexies and Palſies; but few come off with an Epilepſy. Theſe Fits came, nearly, after a Month's Interval; but were not ſtrictly prejudicial, or Lunar (as old Women dream). Any Diſorder, or Intention of Thought, a little Anger, Cold, or Diſappointment, brought them, which made him ſeek to be as quiet and ſtill as he could. They dejected his Spirits to a very great Degree, and deprived him of all Comfort; and one great Unhappineſs was that, in his Fits, he could not help biting his Tongue, and that kept back the Recovery of his Speech. He found that ſtrong Wines helped to put off a Fit, which made him, when he ſuſpected one, to deſire it as a condemned Malefactor does a Reprieve, and accordingly he uſed the ſtrongeſt Sherry, Glaſs after Glaſs, which, formerly, he would have thought more than a Cup too much; but it was a reaſonable Recruit of his Spirits, which, by ſuch Fits, were of Courſe overthrown. As the Doctor's Strength of Body decreaſed, ſo the malignant Fits returned thicker, but more languid; for there was ſcarce left Subſtance enough to ſuſtain the Rancour of them. After they had brought him almoſt to forget the World, and to ſpend moſt of his Time upon a Couch, which was after near five Years from his firſt Stroke, there was very little left for them to do.

 I muſt

I muſt here do a Piece of Juſtice to the Doctor and his Memory, by affirming upon my own Knowledge, that, during the Extremity of his mental Weakneſs, his religious Principles, Reſolution in Juſtice, and good Will to the World, which I may call univerſal Charity, continued as entire and inviolated as they were in the ſtrongeſt Moments of his Life, and, reſpecting his external Behaviour, much more zealous than before. Such a Trial coming over a Man, as this was, if he had worn a Maſk, or had had the leaſt Tinct of Hypocriſy, it had gone off, and the pure Man appeared as he was. And the Conſciouſneſs of a well ſpent Life was of great Service to him; elſe, as happens to weak Women, and others in like Caſe, he might have fallen into Melancholy, Dejections, Miſconſtructions of Providence, Deſpair, and the like Extremes of weak Minds. But, as I ſaid, whatever the State of his Body was, or his Capacity of Study, his Will and moral Determinations were not in the leaſt wavering. There never fell a Word from him tending to Complaint, or Diſcontent at his Condition; he would freely relate what he felt, and how, and no more. He governed himſelf as well as he could; his Submiſſion was abſolute, and his Patience exquiſite.

During all his Weakneſs, his moral Virtues rather encreaſed.

I have had two Obſervations upon the Doctor's Caſe. One is that, in the Progreſs of his Diſeaſe, as his Body grew weaker, his Judgment grew ſtronger; ſo that his Levities wore off, and he became again ſociable. After he retired to the College, he dealt in the College Affairs with a Senſe clear enough, though he could not debate, or contend, becauſe of his Fits, which any Earneſtneſs brought upon him; and they continually left him weaker. After the firſt Year of his Illneſs, he behaved himſelf with great Gravity and Reſpect; and the chief Failing, that appeared in him, was an over Repetition of Gratulatories and Compliments, and a greater inclination to Silence than formerly he had. The other Obſervation is, that Strength, or Weakneſs, of Body hath nothing to do with the Will and Morality in Relation to Duty and Honeſty. Nay farther, that Strength of Parts, or Underſtanding, which in itſelf is not free, doth not controul the Will which is free. And here we are not to argue moral Honeſty, or Knavery, in any Man on Account of his Strength of Body or Mind; for it is found that the beſt Parts are often joined with the moſt corrupt Natures, Witneſs the famous Heretics, Politicians and Malefactors. Therefore they are much to blame who argue againſt any Thing of Duty from the Examples of any Perſons ſtrong in Wit and Invention; who, with all their Sophiſtry, may have a corrupt Will. Every Man hath Wit enough to be upright. It may be ſaid that Providence hath diſpenſed Strength of Mind unequally; and the like may be pretended of Form, Beauty, and Wealth. But no Man can complain for want of free Will,

With Weakneſs his Judgment recovered Strength.

Weakneſs hath nothing to do with Will.

Will, whereby he is juſtified. Men may be forced to act, but never to will, ill Things. Accordingly the Doctor, to his laſt, behaved himſelf in his College in maintaining the ſtatutable Order, ſteadily doing Juſtice to the deſerving Scholars, and diſcouraging others. Nor was it poſſible, by any Means, fair or foul, to move or corrupt him to any Act againſt his Judgment or Conſcience.

His Attempts to preach, or Study, ſtopt by Fits.

But now, before we part, I ſhall add a few Words about the Doctor's Manner of paſſing his Time in his Weakneſs. After he was able to go abroad, and to uſe his Coach, which he did not without much Trouble and Aſſiſtance, he went ſometimes to viſit his Mother near *Bury*, where he paſſed his Time moſt eaſy and to his Content, becauſe it was void of all Manner of Buſineſs. He there made the Proofs of his Ability to preach, and, with much ado, was got into the Country Pulpit. His Matter was very plain and pious; but he laboured under ſuch an invincible Want of Utterance, and what he did ſpeak was with ſo much Pain and Deformity, as rather mortified than edified the Congregation; and, at Length, he was forced, for Fear of his Fits, to leave off abruptly. He deſired alſo to reſume a little Study, and the Uſe of his Pen; but his Fits ſaid, Nay. Therefore, finding that all Preparation towards any actual Exerciſe of his Duty, threw him into Fits, he was forced to be contented with having a good Will, and made his utmoſt Profers towards it. His Mother parted with her Woman to be his conſtant Attendant and Nurſe, and ſhe commonly travelled and went abroad with him; and, without ſo good a Servant and Friend, he had paſſed his Time very painfully. He often went to *London* and reſided at his Prebendary; which was a pleaſing Variety to him. All the Service, his Friends could do him, was to viſit and indulge, and converſe merrily and freely with him. He did not well bear long Viſits; eſpecially of thoſe whom he did not much like. If he found a Diſpoſition to Fits, he called for Wine, which reinvigorated his Spirits. His beſt Diverſion was Variety; and he had moſt of that in *London*; for he could creep about the Cloyſters to Prayers, and to viſit his Neighbours.

Charities, and Devotion conſtant, retired to *Cambridge* and died; his Epitaph, *J. N.*

In theſe Marches the Beggars had found him out and marked him for their own; and he always carried a Caſh on Purpoſe for them. They knew his Motions as well as if they had been his Domeſtics. He ſcarce ever failed of giving every one, that aſked, ſomething. Always, at his taking Coach and lighting, his Attendance was great; and whoever was with him muſt ſtay till the Dole was finiſhed. Sometimes, if he fancied them good People, in a Garb of Humility, he would aſk their Prayers, which they plentifully beſtowed, in his hearing at leaſt; and probably with a true Zeal, for he was the beſt Maſter they had. Theſe Charities were public, and all, beſides what muſt

muſt neceſſarily be ſo, he affectedly concealed. By his laſt Will he left a full fourth Part of all his Eſtate to be diſtributed to poor People, which, by his beſt Brother, whom he made his ſole Executor, and thoſe that came under him, was done. His Devotions, beſides the public Service of the Chapel, and Churches where he was (which he never failed if he was able) were no leſs affectedly ſecreted than his Charities; for they were always in perfect Privacy, and by himſelf. He had certainly a ſound Mind; would to God his Body had been ſo too. About three or four Years after his firſt Illneſs, he made his laſt Retirement to *Cambridge*, and ſeemed to bid all his Friends adieu; and there he paſs'd the ſorry Remainder of his Life. It was moſt alone by himſelf, for his Mother was dead, and his moſt eſteemed Friends engaged in great Dealings above. He declined College Buſineſs, which, becauſe of his too ſenſible Incapacity, he found he could not adminiſter to his Mind. He took moſt to Silence, and, however ſeldom, yet, when he did ſpeak, it was much to the Purpoſe, and often very pathetic, and, perhaps, being offended, reſentingly ſarcaſmous. He frequently wrote to his beſt Brother, which he could, with his ſound Hand, do at Times, and as he found himſelf eaſy. I have ſeen ſome of thoſe Letters, which, as I remember, were in a fervent, or rather flaming Style, upon the Subjects of his Eſteem and Value, and his own wretched Unworthineſs. But they are all gone to the Fire, or ſwept aſide and out of my Reach. His Weakneſs of Body continually encreaſed, and his Fits came on quicker. His chief Eaſe was the Couch, where he uſually lay expecting Fits, and wiſhing for Death, the only Means to free a limpid Soul, as his certainly was, from that Dungeon of Fleſh, in which he lay ſtuck faſt as in a Mire. At Length, in one of his Fits as was ſuppoſed, without Diſcovery of any Pain, about *April* 1683. he went out rather than died. He lies interred in the Ante-chapel, as he directed in his Life Time, and, as was noted, nothing ſignificative but *J. N.* upon a ſmall Stone over him. He was deſirous, if he could not leave ſomewhat behind him worthy to be remembered, of which (as I have ſhewn) he never was ſatisfied, not to be remembered at all.

It may be conjectured that, if he had married, it would have preſerved him longer, for the Cares of a Family are frequent and importune enough, but interrupted. Theſe, compounded with his Studies, had relieved both. And he was not at all averſe to it, for he uſed to ſay that a rich Wife was a good Benefice; and he found no Topic more for his Purpoſe, in rallying his Friends, than that. Once he obſerved that, at one of his beſt Brother's Chriſtnings, there was a grievous Clutter about Goſſips, Entertainments, Nurſes, *&c.* He comes to his Brother and *Seriouſly*, ſaid he, *and as I am a living*

Marriage, to which he was not averſe, might have preſerved him

Man, Brother, there is more than one would imagine in that Saying, — "Any Thing for a quiet Life." In a Word; however, the Doctor pleaſed himſelf with whetting his Wit upon his married Friends to ſuch a Degree as they ſcarce bore, they yet were pleaſed; for his Girds were oblique, and touched to the quick, but not directly exceptionable; and they commonly brought a Shower of like Hail upon himſelf.

The Doctor's Integrity whole and unimpeached to the Laſt.

I know nothing of Exception juſtly taken to him during his whole Life, although he was a Scholar almoſt univerſally known and obſerved, unleſs it were after he came to the Government of the College; and then only for his rigorous Exaction of Duty and Order in the Scholars, and ſevere Juſtice in Elections. As to the former, he was taken for an Innovator, but by the diſorderly only; and thoſe carried it ſo far as to ſay, his paſſionate Severity (which they called Malice) brought his Diſeaſe upon him. For the other; although the Seniors were much piqued at him for not always agreeing with them, it was only among themſelves, and in particular Caſes. Neither Side carried it farther into Malice and Rancour, whence open Faction and Party-making might flow. The Doctor contented himſelf with the ordinary Allowance, and never made any Encroachments upon the Rights and Revenues of the College, nor ſquandered their Monies in Decorations, or otherwiſe, after his own Fancy or Advantage, to the Oppreſſion of the Fellows. If any have done otherwiſe ſince, let them go away with the Honour of it. And as to the late Controverſies between the Maſter and his Fellows, in which they have on both Sides alluded to our Doctor's Caſe, it is certain it ſignified no more to the Queſtions of right depending amongſt them, than to the Monarchy of *Spain*. For what was it to the Purpoſe if Dr. *North* vexed the Fellows, or they him, and in ſome particular Inſtances only, and thoſe not referred to the Profit of either, but only to Government in the College? but ſo People, in Difference, are apt to ſcold. I might here inſert their ſeveral Prints; but, having declared the whole Matter in itſelf impertinent, and withal not touching our Doctor in any Reſpect, I hope it may be excuſed. And here I leave the good Doctor, freed from his unhappy Caſe of Fleſh; but, withal, a bright Example of Orthodox Religion, Learning, Juſtice, and good Will, to his eternal Reſt, and Aſſurance of the Rewards of well doing.

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